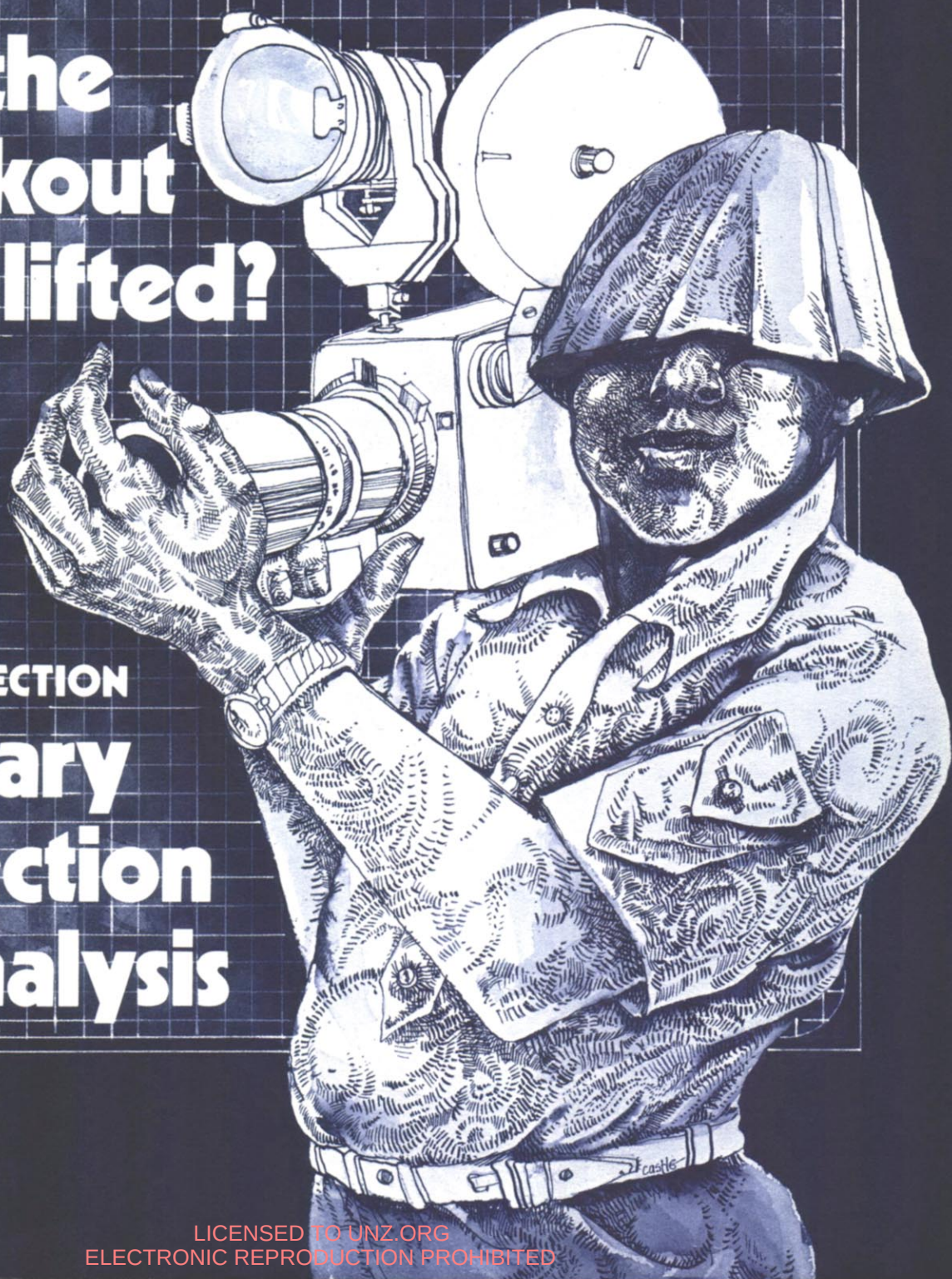
APRIL 1978/$1.75

California Journal

THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

CAMPAIGN '78:

Will the blackout be lifted?



SPECIAL SECTION
Primary Election Analysis

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Personal

PERSPECTIVE

By Ed Salzman

Accurate as the weather report

How good or how bad is California's business climate?

The Lou Harris polling organization supposedly answered that question for Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally and the state Commission for Economic Development by finding that most big-business executives have more bad than good to say about California. Now, if everything goes according to script, the Brown Administration will come under renewed attack for offending the business community, and the Governor will respond by making even more overtures to the business community than he already has, if indeed that is possible.

The problem is that the Harris report fails to make the case that the state has an adverse business climate. Look at these facts:

- The Harris study was based on interviews with 487 executives of 355 companies engaged solely in manufacturing enterprises. All other forms of business were excluded.
- The pollster specifically excluded interviews with executives of California-based corporations or even those outside the state with plants in California. In other words, those who like California as a place to operate and have proved it by locating here were omitted, building a bias factor into the survey.
- Some 84 percent of these out-of-staters said they were happy with their current plant locations. So why would they be likely to cast longing eyes toward the Golden State?
- Even so, California compares favorably with the only other two urban states used in the survey, New York and Michigan.

What the poll does show is that California cannot compete with states like Arizona offering cheap, non-unionized labor and relatively low taxes. Harris did find that California ranks very high in quality-of-life ratings covering recreation, education, climate, highways and the like. But these factors are not nearly so important as labor, markets and taxes when plant-location decisions are being made.

Although the Harris survey is anything but accurate as a barometer of California's total business climate, the pollster does come to some sound conclusions: California should not try to compete with states offering cheap, unskilled labor. Instead, California should concentrate on promoting itself "as a place where skilled and dedicated people work hard as well as play hard, as a huge and booming marketplace . . . and where the state political leadership is concerned, responsive and understanding of the needs of industry."

What Harris should have added is that California might as well serve notice on the 487 eastern manufacturing executives that California isn't about to become a place where labor is cheap, taxes are low and environmental restrictions are to be abandoned. If that's what it takes to draw factories, Arizona can have them.

California Journal

THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS
OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

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The March newsletter of the State Informational Officers Council carried a three-paragraph front-page item on the opening of the *Los Angeles Times'* new San Diego bureau. There were three errors in the item, including the spelling of a name. Does that make you wonder about the accuracy of information issued by state departments?

Some of the same Democrats who fought hammer and tong against Ronald Reagan's 1973 ballot measure to put a lid on state spending accepted an expenditure limit in the Behr property tax bill this year without even a whimper. (The big difference is that the Reagan proposal would have been carved in granite, while the Legislature can undo what it did in the Behr bill.)

This could be the year when the state is put into genuine fiscal chaos — and not because of the Jarvis-Gann initiative. Forces in the Legislature are so evenly balanced on the emotional issue of Medi-Cal funds for abortions that there may not be much room for compromise within the normal budget process. This could mean that the budget fight could extend well beyond the start of the fiscal year on July 1st.

The real reason for Senate Democratic discontent with Omer Rains as caucus chairman has to do with his ineffectiveness as a fundraiser for Democratic candidates. His challenger, Bob Wilson, is known as one of the best hustlers in the business.

Hiram Johnson lives: A provision of the state constitution stemming from Johnson's anti-railroad crusade is causing big trouble for four Democratic legislators. At issue is whether Senator Ruben Ayala and Assemblymen Richard Alatorre, Peter Chacon and Art Torres received free rides from PSA, or whether they were not billed as a result of an oversight by PSA's political consultant, Joe Cerrell. The constitution states: "A transportation company may not grant free passes or discounts to anyone holding an office in this state; and the acceptance . . . shall work a forfeiture of that office." Did Chacon invite his removal from office by reporting the air fare as a gift?

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How realistic is Los Angeles' budget for the Spartan games it promises to produce in 1984?

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PRIMARY ELECTION PREVIEW 114

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By Bill Skane

After a difficult birth, this landmark law may yet achieve its major goal: help for the dying.

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Look what happened to candidate Ken Maddy's independence rating – and check the 1977 records of other state legislators.

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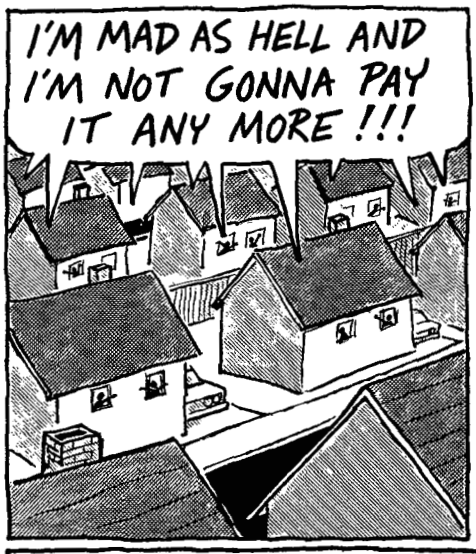
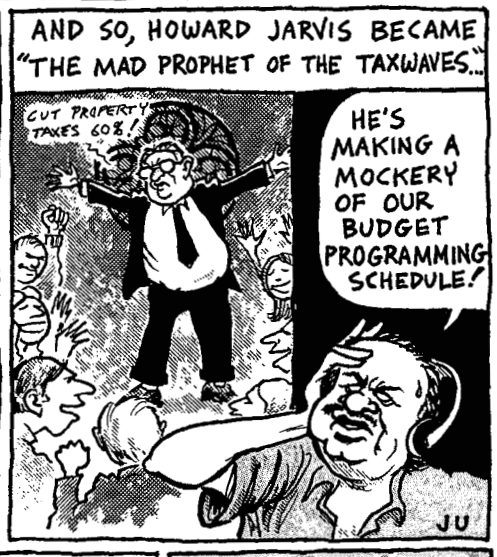
NETWORTH

FEATURING "THE MAD PROPHET OF THE TAXWAVES", HOWARD JARVIS!

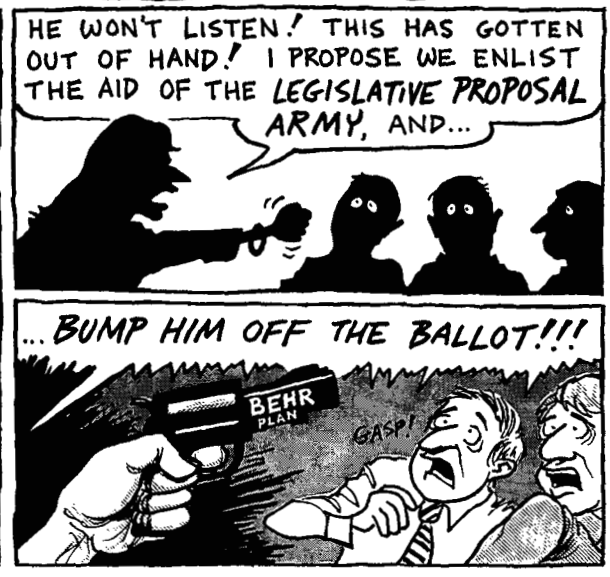
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, TWO MONTHS FROM NOW I PLAN TO SHOOT THE STATE PROPERTY TAX STRUCTURE TO PIECES RIGHT HERE BEFORE YOUR VERY EYES!
GOOD LORD!



WE CAN'T LET HIM GO ON TALKING LIKE THAT!
I'M AFRAID WE'LL HAVE TO! ACCORDING TO SURVEYS, HE'S PULLING DOWN SOME PRETTY HEFTY RATINGS!
JM
LMcC


AND SO, HOWARD JARVIS BECAME "THE MAD PROPHET OF THE TAXWAVES"...
CUT PROPERTY TAXES 60%!
HE'S MAKING A MOCKERY OF OUR BUDGET PROGRAMMING SCHEDULE!
JU

LOOK, HOWARD! YOUR INITIATIVE IS GOING TO RUIN US! YOU'RE GONNA THROW LOCAL BUDGETS INTO CHAOS, THREATEN POLICE, FIREMEN, TEACHERS, LIBRARIES, GARBAGE PICK-UPS... THEY'LL HAVE TO RAISE SALES TAXES AND


HE WON'T LISTEN! THIS HAS GOTTEN OUT OF HAND! I PROPOSE WE ENLIST THE AID OF THE LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL ARMY, AND...
...BUMP HIM OFF THE BALLOT!!!
BEHR PLAN
GASP!

WILL
JARVIS' RAVINGS COME OUT ON TOP?
OR IS IT MORE THAN WE CAN BEHR?
STAY TUNED FOR THE EXCITING CONCLUSION
COMING SOON TO A VOTING BOOTH NEAR YOU!
GREENBERG '78 C.J.

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Promises, promises

by LA stations to cover the '78 elections

By Michele Willens

Inside the campaign headquarters, they're discussing how to get the candidate on the six o'clock news. He needs the free exposure and wants to talk about mental health. A news conference is scheduled . . .

Inside the busy TV newsroom, they decide not to cover the news conference, although they know mental health is important. Above them a sign reads, "Only YOU Can Prevent Talking Heads!" That guy's too dull, they decide. And what are the visuals?

Back inside the headquarters, the press secretary has an idea: Skip the news conference — we'll have him walk through a hospital. Call the press . . .

Back inside the newsroom, they know the hospital is a good visual story but dammit, someone says, we're letting these guys manipulate us. Anyway, no one cares about politics . . .

And so it begins again: the love-hate affair between the candidates and the media. Nowhere is that relationship more important than in Southern California, where most of the state's voters live. This is also the nation's most active radio market, the second biggest TV market and the home of one of the country's most powerful newspapers.

On any given day, 1½ million people read three Los Angeles-area papers, three million listen to a pair of all-news radio stations and many millions watch up to two hours of local news between 5 and 7 p.m.

Judging by all recent surveys, most citizens vote according to the various candidates' exposure in the media. So it's fair to say the candidates need the media more than the media need the candidates. Never was this fact more evident than four years ago when the California media — with the exceptions of the *Los Angeles Times*, *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, the *Sacramento Bee* and one TV station — virtually ignored the elections. As described in Mary Ellen Leary's book, *Phantom Politics*, the media allowed Jerry Brown to dictate what was covered, and his campaign went unscrutinized. Other races were largely ignored.

Aware of Leary

This year the people running the news organizations are very much aware of Leary's damning study of their past performance. They're waging a campaign of their own not to let it happen again. They're making all kinds of promises about good political coverage in 1978. Of course, promises from the heads of news organizations flow about as easily as they do from politicians.

But there's reason for hope in Los Angeles. The acknowledged leaders in political coverage — the *Los Angeles Times* and KNBC-TV — are being challenged by the other two major TV stations and two rejuvenated newspapers. What's most encouraging is that the challengers are being run by many new people with proven track records in political interest.

Yet these new faces will have to stage a revolution of sorts to tip the balance of media power in Los Angeles. For years it has rested — directly or indirectly — with the *LA Times*, with circulation just over one million. Even though candidates think TV is the most powerful medium, the *Times* has generally controlled what ends up in all of the city's media. This is because TV and radio newsrooms don't cover politics on a regular basis and their staffs tend to be guided in their political stories by the morning *Times*. Whether that balance can be tipped in campaign year '78 remains to be seen, but it's the first year in many that the question is even worth posing.

The lack of political coverage in Los Angeles — as well as in many other cities — is a reflection of the theory that low voter turnouts prove people don't care about politics. The reverse theory — that people may not know or care much

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Michele Willens is a Los Angeles free lance writer and a former reporter for the Los Angeles Times *and* KNXT-TV.

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about an election that is not adequately covered in the news — is one to which media managements rarely subscribe. Television news, in particular, has been sloppy about political coverage, mainly because politics is difficult to do in a visual, condensed way.

Creating media freaks

"The candidate who is interested in issues in this town," says former Senate candidate Tom Hayden, "eventually has to give them up. There is tremendous pressure on candidates to do stunts to get coverage. You have the choice of being ignored or becoming a media freak."

This year that kind of headline mentality — if it persists — will be most advantageous to Republican gubernatorial candidates Ed Davis and John Briggs. Davis says he can hardly turn around without a microphone being stuck in his face. He also says many reporters are going away disappointed, finding a "crazy" cop does not necessarily make a crazy candidate. (Davis is playing down his former life so much that his campaign biography fails to mention he worked for the LA Police Department.)

Larry Thomas, press secretary for San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson, says. "My biggest worry is that Davis and Briggs will get all the publicity because they're good at statements about gays and hanging hijackers."

If people really don't care about politics, it may be because it's been reported in such a way to make them feel left out. Many Los Angeles reporters have fallen into the trap of listening to each other too much and presenting "backstage" kinds of stories to a largely uninformed public. In so doing, they have often lost touch with what the public wants to know.

Figuring out what stories people do want to hear about is especially hard when few reporters are following politics on a regular basis. That's been the case in Los Angeles.

"The ideal way to cover politics is the beat system," says Connie Chung, anchorwoman for KNXT-TV, who formerly covered national politics for CBS. "You put one reporter on one candidate, and let them develop sources and contacts. It's the only way to know if what the candidate says is true or contradicts something he's said before. I cringe when I see some of the surface stuff we've put on the air. It's not that they're puff pieces. They're just regurgitations of what the politicians say."

Only the *Los Angeles Times* has assigned specific reporters to specific candidates. But the paper has 15 staff members available for political reporting alone — TV stations' staffs may have no more than that number to cover all the news, and they obviously can't spare some to go off on political beats.

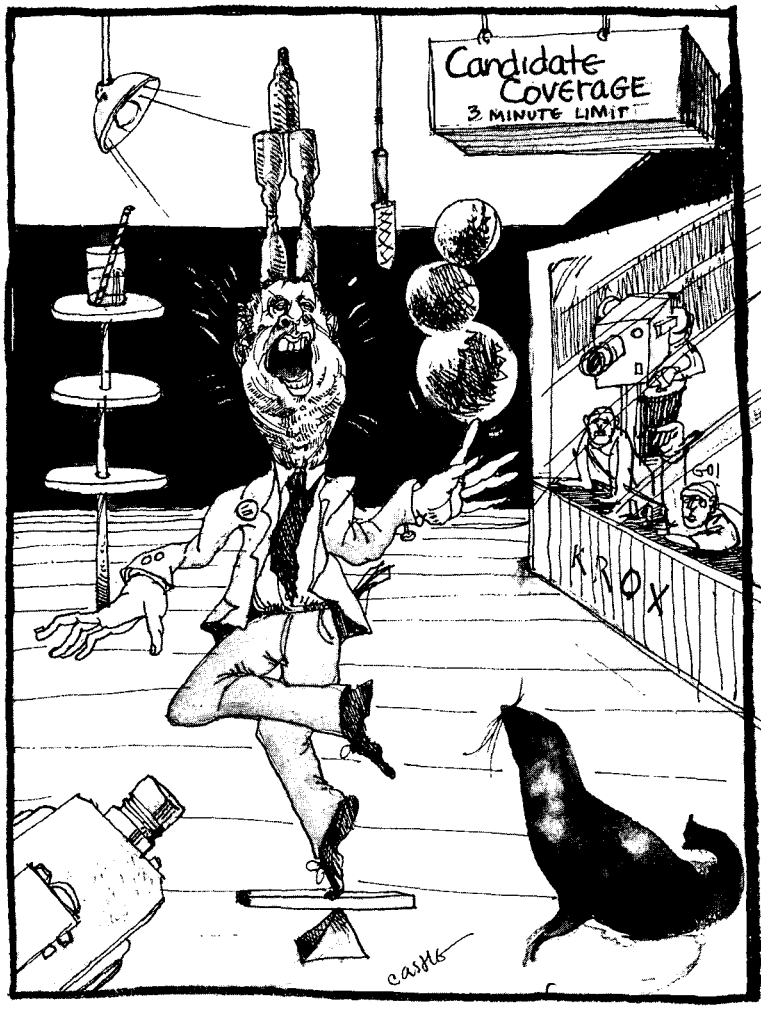
'Star lust'

Veteran newsman Bill Stout says there's another reason the quality of TV reporting has diminished:

"A great many people are drawn into TV now by star lust," Stout says. "They want to be recognized on the street. They don't really have what you need in this business: curiosity. Political reporters especially need curiosity. We need people who can stay with a story all the way through."

The candidates this year are worried about being ill served by lazy reportage. The Wilson campaign is particularly concerned, since it's using a strategy not geared toward gaining sudden leaps in the polls. Wilson is blitzing "target" GOP areas for a few days at a time. The campaign says he's leaving with more recognition — but that it's a slow process.

"If Pete doesn't impact on state polls," says press aide Thomas, "the media will say he's not going anywhere. I'm just hoping they'll be willing to change the ways they measure the success of a campaign."



But while the politicians complain about the media's performance, they have played their own roles in the drama less than perfectly. Their obsession with the polls discourages campaign commitments on important issues: The less they have to say on specific questions, usually the better. The candidates also have tended to cater to the media, staging events simply for television and adopting the belief that everything they do is worth covering, even when it isn't. In those smoke-filled rooms, when they watch themselves on the six o'clock news, they refer to their exposure as "free media," not news.

Warren Olney of KNBC-TV, one of LA's best political reporters, feels the politicians still have the upper hand in the "who's-manipulating-who" tug of war. "The major failing of the media," he says, "is that we let the politicans dictate the way we cover them. We let them stage the piece for us. They make themselves available but only to answer questions on certain things. Well, it's up to us to ask them the hard questions or at least make people aware (the politicians) are not addressing the real problems."

Olney says he thinks astute reporters know when they're being taken for a ride, but there just aren't enough astute reporters in the business. He was happy to see that none fell prey to a recent invitation from Evelle Younger to watch him watch a parade in Chinatown while eating eggrolls.

Making it visual

"Maybe if we got coverage earlier and on a more regular basis," says Yvonne Burke's campaign manager, Phil Depoian, "we wouldn't have to attempt to manipulate the

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media. In the future we all may be eating eggrolls."

Depoian and other campaign people say the media simply won't cover their candidates unless something visual is happening. Press secretaries and schedulers now work hand in hand because, as Burke's press aide, Jay Berman, says, "It's just a waste of Yvonne's time to schedule her somewhere unless we can get media out of it."

L.A. Times reporter Ken Reich feels sympathetic to the problems of the other side. "The politicians deserve a chance to get their views out. Unless we feel those views are insincere, we should allow them to express their point of view. Some call it manipulation — I call it continuing the democratic dialogue."

Will the broadcasters keep their promises this season? Will the candidates be allowed not to have to eat eggrolls to get media attention?

Inside the media arena...

Here's a look at the new competitive media scene in Los Angeles:

Newspapers

The *Los Angeles Times* is still the dominant force in the city but there are other papers worth watching. Remember the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, the Hearst paper that was plagued by a strike for a decade? Well, it's been taken over by editor Jim Bellows, former Mr. Fixit of the *Washington Star*. He took that dying paper, spiced it up and gave the *Washington Post* some healthy competition. Bets are he'll do the same in Los Angeles.

Bellows has been at the *Herald* only since January, but already there are noticeable differences. He's turned page two into "Page 2," the kind of newsy, gossipy hodgepodge people talk about. It includes political notes from Joe Scott, editor of the *Political Animal*. The newsletter often outscoops everyone but has a small circulation. Now, much of that same information appears in the *Herald*. Scott is also writing a column for the paper a few times a week. Bellows and his new executive editor promise slightly different political coverage than the *Times*' more traditional reportage.

"Mostly, we want to do people-oriented stuff," says executive editor Don Forst. "We're going to put the juice and life into these people. We want to show their warts."

The *Herald* is also developing in-depth stories to go along with the daily news. It has done pieces on the political power of the gay movement and the inner workings of Black Democratic circles. Right now the paper's biggest problem is staff — or lack of it — but people are being added regularly.

There's another "comeback" on the newspaper scene, this one in the enormous San Fernando Valley. The *Valley News* (formerly *News* and *Greensheet*) has been around for years but deteriorated into a dull, lifeless, four-day-a-week paper. Then it was taken over by the Chicago Tribune Company and things started changing. The biggest boost came last year, in the form of executive editor Bruce Winters, former political reporter for the *Baltimore Sun*. The paper now publishes six days a week (it's dark Monday but Winters says that should change) and serves its 250,000 readers very well.

The transformation has been remarkable. The *Valley News* is now a meaty, handsome paper filled with strong local as well as national and international news. It competes heavily with the *Times*' valley edition. The *News* is determined to cover the massive valley but to avoid a parochial attitude.

The *Valley News* does what all good "local" papers should do: inform residents on who is running for office in their districts. The *Times* surburban editions have been weak in this area, and television rarely touches it except on the night before elections. Winters says the *News* will do plenty with this kind of information. The paper is clearly being taken seriously by candidates running for statewide offices, too. Governor Brown strolled into the newsroom recently, and other candidates are doing the same.

All this new competition is greeted with reserved pleasure by the *Los Angeles Times*. "I see competition as a way of making us do a better job," says Bill Stall, former press secretary for Governor Brown and now the man heading up the *Times*' political coverage. "We still have the resources to do the best job and we do the best job. The *Herald's* right, though, in saying more people-coverage is needed. I'm going to try to get more people back into political stories. But I don't think the lack of competition has kept us from getting stories."

Others disagree. One political reporter in town says, "The *Times* tends to take too much credit for its reporting. The paper usually reacts to stories. There's very little analysis, political investigation or follow-up. They have this fat, juicy position as number one and they tend to be very leisurely in their reporting."

Stall says the paper will do tough and extensive political coverage this year and he has the people. Nationally respected reporters like Reich and Dick Bergholz will be following campaigns full time and many more *Times* staff members will be used to cover candidates and issues on all fronts: Sacramento, city hall, Orange County and in new bureaus in Riverside, Santa Barbara and San Diego.

Already, some of the candidates have complained about coverage in the *Times*. Yvonne Burke was upset that her campaign announcement ended up on page 24. Stall concedes that was bad. "I'd like to say it was because of the heavy rains or something," he says, "but the truth is, when Burt Pines announced, he got half of page 3. I can't come up with any logical reason for it."

Television

Television is crucially important to the candidates, but only one of the three network-owned-and-operated stations — KNBC — has done responsible political reporting in the '70s. It is the only station with several reporters allowed to concentrate on politics — at least during an election year — and the only one left with a bureau in Sacramento. KNBC also this year acquired the services of Mervin Field and his poll.

Ironically, it was KNBC — the recognized leader in political coverage — that refused at first to accept early ads for Republican candidate Ken Maddy. That refusal made news statewide and provided a good case study in the vital media-poll-politician connections.

Maddy supporters felt that an early TV blitz was the only way to get the Fresno assemblyman's name known well enough to move him up in the polls and thereby gain media recognition as a credible candidate. So $300,000 was doled out, mainly by farming interests, for a heavy, three-week ad campaign in February. But KNBC was not convinced that

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Maddy was a serious candidate and refused to accept his ads. Channels 2 and 7 took them but declined to run them during newscasts.

KNBC general manager Tom Stracewski explained the refusal this way: "Our policy is usually to sell time to candidates 45 days before an election or at the close of filing. But we will be flexible if we feel the campaign has substantially started before that or the person is a viable candidate."

Eventually KNBC had second thoughts, conceding that Maddy was a viable candidate and that the GOP race was heating up early. It began running the Maddy ads, but its politically aware viewers did not see them before the March Field Poll was taken.

Despite the Maddy incident, most candidates say KNBC is usually the only station that shows up to cover their stories. The station says this election year will see more of its extensive coverage. In March it began a five-day special report on some of the kinds of campaigning — such as direct mail and advertising — that voters should understand.

Its competitors, KNXT and KABC, have been lax, at best, about political coverage. Both say this year will be different. KABC has hired former U.S. Senator John Tunney and Nixon apologist Bruce Hershenson to do point-counterpoint analyses as the season heats up. John Babcock, a man with political experience, has been named to direct election coverage.

"It's a whole new ballgame over here," Babcock says. "For some, we still won't do enough. I mean, we're not going to be the *California Journal* of the air, but there will be more politics than in the past."

KABC says it will emphasize the human side of politics, something TV can do better than any other medium.

"What we do best," says Leo McElroy, KABC reporter, "is give a picture of an individual — show what he or she is really all about. The public usually votes on its perception of a candidate anyway."

Despite such optimism, Babcock is the only reporter at KABC assigned to politics, and he obviously can't keep up with all the candidates. Also, there is always the risk that the old KABC "eyewitness" appetite for the sensational will creep into political reporting. "We'll be looking for areas where there will be conflict," admits Babcock. "The sexier areas — we're looking for fireworks."

It has taken real fireworks to get KNXT — the city's CBS station — to notice politics in recent years. This has been a real disappointment, since the station once had a team of political reporters who did as well as anyone in town. Many management and cosmetic changes have come and gone since then. The most recent administration just moved in from Chicago and the station is preparing to expand its evening news show to two hours. (It cut back to one hour a couple of years ago.) The last few administrations at KNXT flatly stated the belief that people don't care about politics and can't sit still for any "talking heads," no matter what they were saying.

But the new general manager, Van Gordon Sauter, is a former political reporter and network newsman. The current news director comes from Chicago, an active political town, and former *Newsweek* correspondent, Karl Fleming, who has never had a day of broadcast experience, has been hired as managing editor. He says he's determined to see politics covered in an interesting way and to avoid having his reporters manipulated.

"These politicans run us and our money," Fleming says. "They're not going to run our news anymore."

KNXT has some of the best political reporters in town. Unfortunately, they're not doing much political reporting. Two of the station's anchorpersons, Connie Chung and Joseph Benti, are former political reporters but only get outside the studio infrequently. Chung recently did a two-day analysis of Governor Brown that was far superior to anything that's been done on local television in recent years. Brown himself came into the studio to respond to it.

KNXT also boasts Bill Stout, the only TV reporter in town doing hard-boiled commentary. Occasionally, Stout goes after politicians and reminds everyone what political reporting is all about. His clout is obvious. Last year he went after a couple of local officials seeking election. Both lost.

But while the new management at KNXT likes to point to Stout to prove its commitment, it recently cut back his time on the air.

Radio

Los Angeles also has two all-news radio stations with pretty strong interest in politics: KNX and KFWB. Each has over a million listeners. KFWB has a full-time Sacramento reporter. Both stations say they are sure listeners of all-news stations must care about who's running the country. Yet neither station does much in-depth reporting because of time limits. They do a pretty good job following daily news events in the political world, however.

KNX points proudly to the fact it doesn't allow reporters to take vacations close to elections. It denies the charge that it ignores politics most of the rest of the year and only gets involved a few weeks before voters go to the polls.

Promises. From just about everyone. The people behind the news agencies point to Mary Ellen Leary's book on their office shelves. They say they're aware what happened before. And they're aware that they may be part of the reason people are staying home from the polls in higher and higher numbers.

Perhaps those numbers will drop if political coverage goes up. And Leary won't be writing the same book in 1978.

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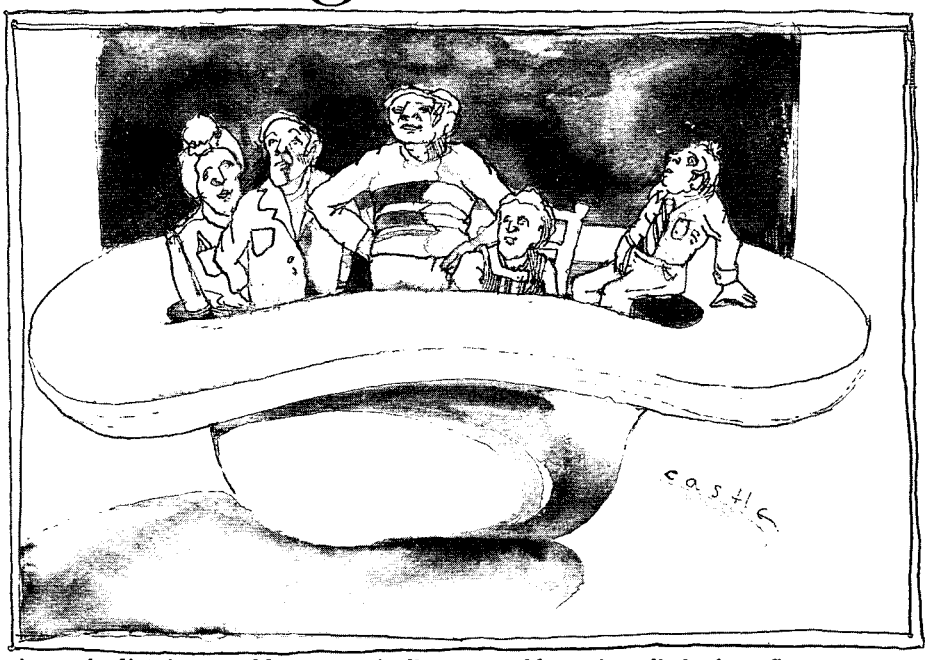
A modest proposal for a citizen Legislature

By COLLEEN O'CONNOR AND JOAN PALEVSKY



As Freud once puzzled about women, so now do political observers worry about voters. "What is it that voters really want?" they ask. "Why are they so alienated?" Only now it is not a whimsical query — the question has taken on ominous overtones. There is great fear that non-voting is but a prelude to the demise of democracy, and that without participation in elections there will soon cease to be elections.

The topic of voter alienation has so fascinated and alarmed political scientists that exploration of the subject now constitutes its own mini-industry. Books, articles, newspapers and television are all pondering the same questions: "Why have the non-voters replaced the Republicans as the second major party in the United States?" "Why, with increasing consistency, have non-voters tallied the highest percentage points in local and state elections?"

When queried directly, the stay-at-home citizen shrugs and complains of corruption among politicians, of disinterest in the dirty world of politics. Then he or she grudgingly admits the real source of discontent: a sense of futility. "What's the use? My vote doesn't matter anyway."

Perhaps a simple proposal would correct the situation by a straightforward increase in democracy: Eliminate the present system of electing the state Legislature. In its place, substitute a Lottery System — that is, representation via the current jury selection procedures.

Here is how it would work: All registered voters' names would be dropped into a hopper in their respective Assembly districts. The first name drawn in each district would automatically become the district's representative in Sacramento for one term. The entire process would be administered by the secretary of state's office every evenly numbered year. The state Senate would be abolished.

Reaping the benefits

Each person chosen would be expected to serve. As Thomas Paine put it, "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must . . . undergo the fatigues of supporting it." Each representative chosen (barring serious illness or an incapacitating situation at home, such as a dying spouse) would be obliged to serve and to complete one full two-year term in Sacramento. No excuses. No age limit, except that he or she be of voting age. No discrimination based on sex, race or religion. The legislator's job would be protected, difficult as this may be. And at the end of two years, he or she would be required to give a full accounting to the district of his or her tenure in office.

In exchange for this sacrifice, each representative chosen via the lottery would receive all the benefits now accorded state legislators. Annual salary, $25,555; $35 a day expense allowance for each day the legislature is in session (free of state income tax); a leased car; a free gas credit card; free telephone credit card; plus staff in both the district and the Sacramento offices. For many, being chosen through the lottery would be like winning the Irish Sweepstakes.

Could this system work? We believe it could. First, the obligation to represent one's neighbors might bring out the best in one's commitment to public service. Knowing that this would be a unique chance to solve the knotty problems of present-day society, the randomly chosen representatives might truly ponder the general good and not the expedient. Since they would not be indebted to special interests through campaign donations nor threatened by them in future elections, they might well exercise the office in an independent and responsible way.

An attractive corollary of the Lottery System would, in fact, be the elimination of not just one, but two sets

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of costly legislative campaigns: those for the Assembly and those for the state Senate. Some persons might object to eliminating the state Senate and choosing only Assembly members because political options would become very limited. But nothing would prevent an Assembly member from running for statewide office. Furthermore, the result might be fewer professional politicians and more citizen office holders.

True, there might be some strange people in the Assembly representing us. That is a chance we would have to take. But would it be so different than it is today with elected representatives? With the Lottery System, at least there would be assurance that at the end of two years the district and the Assembly would have a new representative with new concerns, new ideas and new energies.

By far, the lottery's greatest appeal is its simple fairness. Currently, one percent of Californians are attorneys, but they constitute 49 percent of the state Legislature. Random selection would redress that imbalance quite easily, and other inequities as well. Women, now 53 percent of the population, are less than seven percent of the legislators. Similar statistics can be cited for Blacks, Chicanos, young and old.

But even more serious is the total absence of scientists, waitresses, truckers, tellers, bookkeepers, clerks, professors and artists in the Capitol. Who better knows the problems of their respective professions than they themselves? They could bring an expertise to government not now in evidence. These people feel deeply about other problems, too, such as tax reform, school desegregation, energy conservation, the economy, health insurance — a whole host of problems with which the government is not now dealing adequately. Most people, given the opportunity, are willing to share their expertise and to learn from others. In short, who has more experience with society's problems than society itself?

A fresh pool of talent

Consider the fresh pool of talent that would be available. The very people whom we should want in government are the ones most repulsed by politics. The qualities considered important for successful campaigning for elective office — egoism and arrogance — are exactly the opposite of those traits requisite for good governing, humility and diligence. The lottery could pull into government service those talented and less flamboyant individuals who have much to contribute.

Furthermore, the Lottery System would mitigate the feeling that politics is a dirty business, that it is something apart from "us," that it really doesn't concern us. With the lottery *we* would be politics, *we* would be the government, and *we* would be responsible.

The lottery would certainly improve the political consciousness of everyone. Knowing that we might someday be in the Assembly might make us more informed critics of government, and — if not more tolerant of other opinions — at least more understanding of the complexities of political and social problems.

At worst, two years with randomly selected representatives might produce some mediocre or bad legislation. This probably would be corrected later, as happens now. At best, the example of a conscientious representative would inspire his or her successor to serve the public good as well or better. The state probably would get a pretty good group of legislators who would come up with some novel solutions.

If democracy is that form of government which believes the people are best able to govern themselves, then the Lottery System is a logical consequence of that belief. Given adequate information, we really are and should be our own best representatives. What better reason to become informed and concerned than to exert some positive influence over the governing of our lives? Al Smith said it best when he remarked, "All the ills of democracy can be cured by more democracy."

Late last year, a Pennsylvania congressman named Gary A. Myers announced he would leave Congress when his second term ends in 1979. "Any guy next door can make a good legislator," Republican Myers said. "I look at my colleagues . . . and I just don't see there's much difference between them and the people back home."

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Commuter Computer

By Robert McGarvey

Breaking up the love affair between California drivers and their private automobiles is no easy assignment. In the recent past, car-pooling schemes have produced more apathy than activity. And politicians backed off quickly last year when the public screamed at the Diamond Lanes experiment on a Los Angeles freeway.

But now there is a modest model for pooling that is attracting renewed attention: Commuter Computer, a five-county, Southern California program with private and public backing. Started two years ago by Atlantic Richfield Company, it now has several sponsors, a non-profit organization with a 30-member board of directors — and the blessing (plus funding) of the California Department of Transportation.

Other cities are following suit: San Diego recently unveiled its own Commuter Computer, which shares name and techniques with LA's program but is otherwise unrelated. Marin County is joining the movement, too, with the help of more than a half-million dollars in Urban Mass Transit Administration funds earmarked for easing congestion on the Golden Gate Bridge.

But LA's Commuter Computer was there first and, so far, is the most ambitious program. Billing itself as "the better way," Commuter Computer's focus is elementary: Promote putting more people in each car, but otherwise leave the sanctity of the vehicle unmolested. Computers are used to match riders to van routes, and anyone unable to use public transportation may sign up for a seat on a van regardless of whether he or she works for a sponsoring corporation.

With a 1977-78 fiscal year budget of $1.1 million, Commuter Computer has benefited from CalTrans' backing. In addition to funding, CalTrans has loaned employees for temporary stints in the group's Los Angeles offices. To reduce the risk for car owners, CalTrans will pay a major portion of any loss suffered by the owner if the pool is not successful within a year. Federal Aid to Urban Highway Project funds have been provided by the five counties Commuter Computer serves: Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, Riverside and Ventura. The Southern California Association of Governments and the City of Los Angeles, which lends the computers, have also pitched in.

Two lures for solo drivers

What distinguishes Commuter Computer from many similar government ventures is the extent of its private sector backing. Crocker Bank, Security Pacific Bank, Atlantic Richfield Company, the Auto Club of Southern California and other corporations have anted up, and ARCO has loaned several executives to work on a full-time basis for Commuter Computer.

With these resources, Commuter Computer offers two approaches for luring drivers away from solo-commuting: standard car pooling and a newer van pool concept. The car pool program is typical fare, where would-be ride sharers are informed of their mutual interests and nature is allowed to take its course thereafter. Van pooling — where riders share a 10- or 12-passenger van on the daily commute to and from work — is the more innovative. There are 86 vans now operating, with a projected fleet of 200 by mid-1978. A van pooler's average monthly cost is $70, and exact fares are based on mileage. The driver commutes free-of-charge and is permitted to use the van for personal business, paying only a nominal rate per mile.

A passenger's fare may seem steep, but Commuter Computer points out the alternative: That $70 van trip would, it figures, run about $160 for a driver commuting alone. And the amenities of van pooling — door-to-door service, radio headsets, bucket seats, individual reading lights — make it an attractive alternative to Southern California's feeble, if inexpensive, public transportation system.

Does van pooling have a prayer of success in Los Angeles? In assessing the odds, Commuter Computer marketing director Dave Jones reflects both optimism and caution. Noting that the concept's 1976 birth may have been premature, Jones says that there still isn't enough public awareness of van pooling. "As a private, non-profit agency, we lack the money for mass advertising," he says, "but we've found that our most successful advertising is word of mouth."

An increasing number of Los Angeles area companies are responding to the van pool idea. Commuter Computer staffers are being invited to meet with management and employees; free or cut-rate parking for vans is being offered in many company-owned lots. In some cases companies are providing direct subsidies of employees' van pool fares. Others are investigating underwriting the full cost, with advertising decals qualifying the project for tax-deduction as an advertising expense.

Two big clouds

Despite these successes, there are two big clouds on Commuter Computer's horizon: insurance and accidents. Although van drivers are trained by the organization and a "perfect driving record" is cited, a major accident — particularly one involving death — could well chill any chances of growth. Even barring that sort of disaster, insurance rates already stand at $1,200 annually per van, and only recently were as high as $1,700. A change of carriers resulted in the reduction, but underwriters tend to view this transportation innovation with suspicion. Further increases could force significant fare hikes which, in turn, just might curb expansion.

Other underwriters voice concern over the level of insurance, which now stands at $1 million per van occupant per incident. Escalating medical costs, coupled with a trend toward skyrocketing accident settlements, could wipe out even this high level of coverage. Who would be left holding the bag? Since no pertinent legal cases have been decided, there is no answer, but a common guess is the driver. If a legal battle set that precedent, unpaid drivers — the key to the program's feasibility — would likely become an endangered species.

And yet expansion fever reigns at Commuter Computer. The bullish attitude assumes that gasoline prices are sure to maintain their upward climb. And President Carter's call for energy conservation, when added to proposed stiff taxes on petroleum, will likely goad more commuters into finding alternatives to the increasingly expensive practice of driving alone to and from work.

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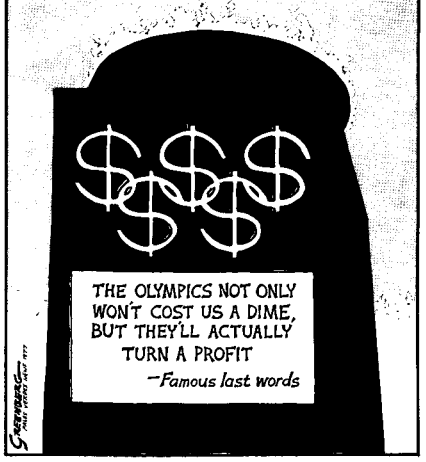
How realistic is the budget of the Spartan Olympics of 1984?



By Larry Baer

Forty-six years ago, the Xth Olympiad was doomed to failure. All civilized countries were staggering under the weight of a worldwide depression, and few observers harbored hopes of a vibrant Olympics.

But the city of Los Angeles confounded the doomsayers and won the hearts of millions with its 1932 extravaganza. Newly built arenas of unimagined splendor, a well-conceived layout, great performances, record attendance, and impeccable weather combined to produce the happy history of the 1932 games. It was the last summer Olympics hosted by an American city — and the last Olympics anywhere to turn a profit.

As formal approval of Los Angeles as host of the 1984 summer games approaches, the Olympic institution again lies at the brink of ruin. Montreal's $1.4 billion debacle has soured the appetites of once-enthusiastic national and municipal promoters. In the past, they keenly competed for the nod from the International Olympic Committee (IOC). But for the first time since the modern games began in 1896, only one city — Los Angeles — applied for the 1984 games.

It has become increasingly apparent that the host city in '84 will be charged with changing the style, tempo, format and planning of the games. Olympic costs have multiplied incredibly. Rome in 1960 and Mexico City in 1968 spent $500 million. Munich's price tag in 1972 was $650 million. Tokyo in 1964 spent $1 billion. But figures for all those cities included costs of non-athletic construction, intended to endure long after the Olympics ended. Host cities built access roads, subways, and, in Japan, a railroad connecting Tokyo and Osaka. Montreal set a dubious record for disaster-level spending by putting out $1.2 billion for athletic facilities alone.

LA Mayor Tom Bradley and his Olympic liaison, Anton Calleia, have been firm in their commitment to avoid Montreal's pitfalls. The key to success is avoiding major new facility construction costs — all Olympic planning is dependent upon that. The necessary facilities already exist, except for a swim stadium, rowing channel and velodrome. Capital expenditures will not exceed $33.5 million, the planners say, and they know they will be in serious trouble if that figure even doubles. Their revenue-cost margin is that tight.

Here is a look at the estimated budget, according to the Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games (SCCOG):

Television	$ 66,000,000	Less than Moscow actual
Ticket sales	74,000,000	Per schedule
Reimbursement	3,000,000	Actual at Montreal was $2.6 million
Marketing/licensing	10,000,000	Actual at Montreal was $5.8 million
Interest	8,000,000	Actual at Montreal was $8.4 million
Contributions	22,000,000	Same as Montreal actual in cash and kind
Program sales	500,000	Estimated
Concessions	750,000	Estimated
Minimum revenue:	**$184,250,000**	
Revenues per above (exclusive of coins and federal funds)		**$184,250,000**
Less expenses		
Capital expenses		$ 33,500,000
Operating expenses		150,000,000
Total expenses		**$183,500,000**
Excess		**$ 750,000**

This suggests Los Angeles can stage the 1984 Olympics at no cost to local taxpayers — but with only a thin $750,000 margin to spare. LA organizers claim that their revenue projections are "very conservative," and both SCCOG Vice President Jim Hardy and Calleia stress that increased revenues could easily double the projection. Both point to two added revenue sources — federal funds and a commemorative coin or medal program. Lake Placid, New York, has been granted $58 million in federal funds to stage the 1980 winter games. Montreal netted $100 million with its commemorative coin program. Calleia said he is "very optimistic" that at least one of the sources will provide a needed revenue cushion. Including both items substantially bloats revenues:

If federal funds	50,000,000	Less than Lake Placid actual of $58 million plus village
and medals/coins are added	300,000,000	Less than projections estimated in final report of President's Commission on Olympic Sports
Grand total revenue:	**$534,250,000**	

But federal money can never be guaranteed when the

Larry Baer, a broadcast journalist and student at the University of California in Berkeley, has done extensive research into the financing of the 1984 Olympic Games.

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political winds in Congress blow. And $300 million in commemorative coins or medals smacks too much of Montreal to be taken seriously. Montreal did not collect half its projected $240-million profit on the medals.

Of the revenue items, the two largest — television rights and ticket sales — account for nearly 70 percent of the total. Unfortunately, they are also the most suspect.

Television rights are a complex subject. ABC paid Montreal $25 million for rights, but Montreal had to turn around and build broadcast support facilities. NBC is giving Moscow $85 million ($35 million in TV rights and $50 million in technical equipment) to broadcast the 1980 games. NBC has to foot production bills and travel costs which make the network's total investment $100 million. The cost jump from 1976 to 1980 for television rights was prompted largely by Moscow's special uncompromising demands. It seems unlikely that a California city could get that much for TV rights for the '80 games. Also, the $100 million Moscow price tag reflects the fact that NBC wants desperately to carry the games in order to undo ABC's stranglehold on Olympic coverage and ABC's mounting dominance in prime-time programming. Yet LA projects a $66 million profit on TV rights — one-third of all revenues. The city says it will turn over $34 million in television revenue to the IOC, and will provide another $60 million worth of broadcasting facilities and services to American and foreign media. Thus, projecting a $66 million profit is tantamount to LA announcing it expects to receive $160 million (in 1977 dollars) for television rights.

Yet the optimistic figure may not be too high after all. Industry insiders confide that NBC will profit from the 1980 games, with its $125,000 per minute prime-time advertising already sold out. In the middle of this year, NBC commences a barrage of Olympic preview programming that will steadily build until the summer of '80 climax. One industry source says: "Before and during negotiations NBC cried 'Poor boy.' Now they are sitting pretty. Sports, and especially the Olympics, provide the best network incentive on television. They are efficient, non-violent, marketable and promotable. The trend toward 'big, big' events fits the Olympics perfectly."

The $25-ticket furor

The $74 million in ticket sales represents a huge increase over Montreal's $36 million. LA officials contend that a much larger and more sports-minded population will make nearly every event a sellout. To raise $74 million, tickets would have to average $25. This has created a furor in some segments of the Los Angeles community. Critics ask, "Can you imagine paying $25 to watch the quarter-finals in weightlifting?" But Calleia answers: "Any time you put a price on anything you're excluding somebody. Twenty-five dollars is not exorbitant for a once-in-a-lifetime event. Look at the Super Bowl prices."

Ticket pricing necessarily involves a tradeoff between fairness to the consumer and sufficient Olympic revenues. If high ticket prices cause protests, the mass appeal of the games will diminish, but if ticket prices are lowered too much, LA may not be able to afford the games at all. A middle ground for price structure must be found. If tickets bring in $85 million and television projections are accurate, then some of the more conservative revenue projections should offset lower ticket yield.

Estimates for reimbursement, marketing/licensing, interest, program sales, contributions, and concessions all appear conservative. It is well within reason to forecast higher earnings in these categories due to the wealth and amount of available dollars in the Los Angeles area.

Switching to expenses, projections seem more realistic. The $33.5 million allocated for capital expenditures appears to be solid. If Los Angeles is to go wrong, it will not be for the same reasons as Montreal.

The facilities which are planned to be constructed are limited to the following:

Swim stadium	$15,000,000
Rowing channel	3,000,000
Velodrome temporary wooden track in an existing stadium	500,000
Refurbishing and modification (and contingencies)	15,000,000
Total estimated capital expenditures:	**$33,500,000**

Each new construction project appears out of cost-overrun danger. The $15 million "refurbishing . . . and contingencies" category provides a nice cushion for LA planners. The only commitment from the $15 million is $4 million reserved for Coliseum alterations. The other $11 million can guard against minor cost-overruns in other projects. The likelihood of the other three construction projects running up combined cost-overruns of $11 million is very slim.

There is every reason to believe LA can also keep the lid on operating expenses, budgeted at $150 million. "Montreal was very extravagant," Calleia says. "They gave away $40 million in 'freebees.' LA won't do that."

In answers to the IOC's formal questionnaire, LA organizers wrote: "The athletes, of course, will be provided with housing at the lowest cost possible, consistent with the theme of the games being conducted on a break-even basis. The city will encourage private enterprises to provide food, lodging and transportation at reduced rates. Charter airline flights can be arranged to obtain lower transportation costs."

Housing has been excluded from all budgets because, if newly constructed, it would be privately financed. Three options presently exist:

- House athletes in the UCLA and USC dormitories. This would be the first departure from the Olympic Village concept since Los Angeles introduced its village in 1932.
- A private investor has offered to finance a village and turn it into condominiums following the games.
- Several banks and savings and loans are willing to band together to form a consortium and finance a village on urban redevelopment land. The village would be converted to medium-to-low-income housing after 1984.

The first alternative appears the favorite. Despite increased security costs, the dorm option is simple and does not rekindle past nightmares of added construction. It is true new construction jobs would not result, but Governor Brown warns that the Olympics will mean few new jobs anyway.

So the Los Angeles balance sheet appears to be rational and responsible. Compared to Montreal, it is a lesson in fiscal prudence. But the Los Angeles figures have weaknesses that could evolve into serious problems if not clearly monitored.

Past financial flops resulted from burgeoning expenses, not sinking revenues. If the revenue figure falls somewhat short, last-minute federal assistance or private contributions could save the day. But when expenses get out of hand, rarely does enough revenue backup exist to make up the deficit.

The pivotal tests will involve skillfull negotiation of television rights and development of a fair, profit-maximizing policy for ticket sales and price structure.

Los Angeles officials are confident they can interrupt the succession of debt-plagued Olympic productions. If correct, then Los Angeles will have saved the Olympics from extinction for a second time.

(For an overall analysis of the Los Angeles Olympics picture, see "The Spartan spectacle," *CJ*, February 1978.)

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PRIMARY ELECTION ANALYSIS

Complete list of candidates and an assessment of each race

By Ed Salzman

If it weren't for the Jarvis-Gann property-tax initiative, there wouldn't be much to draw Democratic voters to the polls on June 6th. All the Democrats now holding statewide office are seeking reelection, and none of them faces any great danger in the primary. But there will be plenty of heat to bring out the Republicans (who need much less urging than Democrats to exercise the franchise). There are five major contenders for the right to tackle Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. this November, and there are also interesting contests in the GOP primaries for lieutenant governor and attorney general.

This is almost a direct reversal of the situation that existed four years ago, when then-Controller Houston I. Flournoy won the GOP nomination almost by default after then-Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke was indicted for alleged perjury before a congressional committee. (Reinecke's conviction was eventually thrown out upon appeal, but the political damage had already been done.) In 1974, there were several major candidates vainly chasing Brown for the Democratic nomination and providing most of the fuel for the spring campaign fires. This year, there is only one statewide office without an incumbent seeking reelection. The decision of Republican Attorney General Evelle J. Younger to run for governor paved the way for spirited competition for his job.

In all, California voters this year will elect seven constitutional officers, four members of the State Board of Equalization, 43 members of the House of Representatives, and 100 members of the state Legislature. They will also decide the fate of 13 state ballot propositions, with Proposition 13 — the Jarvis-Gann measure — arousing so much controversy that it could overshadow the contests for elective office. (All 13 propositions will be analyzed in a special report in next month's *Journal*.)

An unusual wrinkle is being added to the balloting this year. In Los Angeles and in some other parts of the state, there is heavy competition for judgeships. Traditionally, incumbent judges have run unopposed about 90 percent of the time. But this year, incumbents are being challenged in record numbers. In Los Angeles, more than 100 candidates filed for 31 posts. This situation developed because of dissatisfaction in some quarters with the appointees of Governor Brown and because of efforts of prosecutors to encourage opposition to judges who have rendered decisions considered adverse to law-enforcement interests.

What follows is a listing of all candidates for state office and comments on the outlook for each race:

GOVERNOR

Democrats: Incumbent Edmund G. Brown Jr., John Hancock Abbott of Santa Clara, Alex D. Aloia of Los Angeles, Gene Atherton of Orange County, Lowell Darling of Davis, Louis H. Goldstein of Los Angeles, Jules Kimmett of Burbank, Raymond Liebenberg of Butte County, David Rock of Hemet, George B. Roden of Blythe.

Republicans: John V. Briggs of Fullerton, Elmer L. Crutchley of Ventura, Ed Davis of Los Angeles, Ken Maddy of Fresno, True R. Slocum Jr., of Encino, Pete Wilson of San Diego, Evelle J. Younger of Los Angeles.

American Independent: Theresa F. Dietrich of El Sobrante.

Peace and Freedom: Marilyn Seals of Los Angeles.

"I am the only candidate who can defeat Jerry Brown." That's the message most of the contenders for the Republican gubernatorial nomination have been trying to get across to the state's GOP voters. The recurrence of that theme tells a great deal about this year's gubernatorial contest. It demonstrates the strong position held by the Democratic incumbent, who faces only token opposition in his own party primary. It describes the rather complex state of affairs in the Republican party, with five major candidates – a far larger field than GOP voters have been given in any recent gubernatorial election. The "I can beat Jerry Brown" pitch has been used by some candidates as a not-so-subtle way of saying that the man who topped the early polls, Attorney General Evelle J. Younger, would lose to Brown in November. Aided by excellent name identification, Younger sprinted to an early lead in the polls, only to see it eroded significantly by the filing deadline of March 10th.

As the election reached the free-spending stage, it appeared that any of four candidates could emerge as the GOP standard bearer. Only State Senator John Briggs appeared out of contention – despite a respectable amount of money, a great deal of publicity on the gay-rights issue and the endorsement of Howard Jarvis, sponsor of the Jarvis-Gann tax-cut initiative.

Younger tried to sit on his lead early in the campaign by conducting a low-key, almost invisible campaign. The strategy backfired because it reinforced the notion that he would not be an especially aggressive opponent for Brown, and the attorney general didn't get his full share of the publicity. Younger realized his error in February and started running a more active campaign, slashing away at the Brown Administration and getting publicity through employment of the power of his office against the State Energy Commission. Younger had hoped to preserve his cash for the November election, but he was forced to commit more of his resources to the primary as his lead diminished. In fact, a poll taken for the Sacramento Bee *showed that Younger lost his lead to former Los Angeles Police Chief Ed Davis in February. But Mervin Field's California Poll showed Younger still in the lead, and Field's poll was based on much more sophisticated sampling techniques.*

Davis held second place in the Field February poll, but he didn't make any advance. His campaign was designed to show off his talents as a no-nonsense administrator and as a conservative in line with the ideology of a majority of Republicans. He employed rather traditional campaign methods, traveling throughout the state and using all forms of media. He took a large risk with his endorsement of the Jarvis initiative, but this was in line with his strategy of making himself appear to be the only legitimate conservative in the contest except for Briggs.

Assemblyman Ken Maddy of Fresno, a heavy-bankrolled darkhorse when the race began, moved up to the frontrunners with a massive expenditure of funds early in the year for television commercials. Although backed almost exclusively by agricultural interests in the early going, Maddy's commercials took maximum advantage of the legislator's mediagenic qualities and brought him from obscurity to the heels of Younger and Davis. The Field poll showed that Maddy picked up the points Younger lost and ended his dark-horse status. Maddy developed support from conservatives in the party even though he posted a moderate-to-liberal record as a legislator through 1976. At the party convention in San Francisco last month, Maddy won the battle for applause – a further indication that he was turning on voters outside of the farm belt. He also changed the rules of the

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game by forcing the other candidates to commit their funds for advertising relatively early in the race.

Mayor Pete Wilson of San Diego appeared to have lost his number-three rating to Maddy, but he was far from out of the running. Wilson's numbers were sufficiently high in both the Field and Bee polls to encourage his followers. Wilson was sticking to an unusual strategy – blitzing one area of the state at a time with personal appearances, radio spots and newspaper advertising. He claimed that his standing could not be judged by a statewide poll until he had finished with his series of blitzes.

It looked like a classic horse race, with one candidate (Younger) taking a big early lead, another (Davis) staying on his heels waiting for the leader to fade, another (Maddy) making an early move from the back of the pack, and a fourth (Wilson) hoping to make it with a sprint to the finish line.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

Democrats: Incumbent Mervyn Dymally of Los Angeles, Patrick Matthew Fitzpatrick of Orange County, Donald A. Lynch of San Francisco, Patricia (Penny) Raven of Fresno, Abe Tapia of Los Angeles.

Republicans: Mike Antonovich of Glendale, Mike Curb of Hollywood.

American Independent: Houston A. Myers of Alhambra.

Peace and Freedom: Jan B. Tucker of Los Angeles.

How vulnerable is Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally? If you listen to Republican leaders, Dymally and State Controller Ken Cory are so weak that they belong at the top of the GOP hit list. In Dymally's case, this is because he has never been accepted as a partner by Governor Brown, with a resultant loss of stature, and because he has been the subject of adverse newspaper articles. Dymally screamed foul at the Los Angeles Times and the Sacramento Bee and was so upset by the articles that he considered bowing out of politics or running for a lesser office. But as the election season approached, he regained his old political fire, made peace with Brown and started campaigning hard again. He is expected to win renomination handily despite an active campaign by a political neophyte, businesswoman Penny Raven of Fresno.

Dymally's supposed vulnerability brought out two major Republican candidates – GOP national committeeman Mike Curb, a 33-year-old entertainment-industry executive who has never before run for elective office, and Assemblyman Mike Antonovich, 38, who has worked the Republican vineyards for many years and has a much more impressive political resumé than Curb. Yet Curb was the early favorite because he had the solid backing of Ronald Reagan's financial angels, who in turn signed up most of the big names in the party for Curb. In essence, they view Curb as the successor to Ronald Reagan as the national salesman of the conservative philosophy. Antonovich, with limited financial resources, has tried to portray himself as the "real Mike" in contrast to the "plastic Mike." He has been distributing a "consumer's guide" comparing the candidates. He is also reminding voters that the individual elected in November as lieutenant governor could be governor as early as next January 2nd. The question is whether Curb's cash, endorsements and show-biz personality will win out over Antonovich's thoroughbred conservative credentials and superior experience in the world of government.

SECRETARY OF STATE

Democrat: Incumbent March Fong Eu of Oakland.

Republicans: Norrisa Poulson Brandt of Orange County, Jacob Margosian of Contra Costa County, Steve Nash of Los Angeles.

American Independent: Valerie C. Seeman of Rescue.

Peace and Freedom: David Wald of Santa Clara.

Four years ago, Secretary of State March Fong Eu won her job with a 1.3-million-vote plurality, carrying every county except San Diego. She is considered the Democratic statewide officeholder least likely to lose this November, and Republicans will probably mount only a token effort against her. One of the Republican candidates comes from a well known political family. Norrisa Brandt is the daughter of former Los Angeles mayor Norris Poulson.

CONTROLLER

Democrats: Incumbent Ken Cory of Orange County, Joseph E. O'Green of Glendale.

Republicans: Dixon Arnett of Redwood City, James A. Ware of Los Angeles.

American Independent: Edmon V. Kaiser of Fremont.

Peace and Freedom: Elizabeth Cervantes Barron of Cupertino.

State Controller Ken Cory was carried into office by the Democratic tide in 1974, defeating Republican William Bagley by a mere 300,000 votes out of 5.5 million cast. Cory accepted some $500,000 in campaign contributions from a pair of Orange County friends, Richard O'Neill and Dr. Louis Cella. Since that time, Cella has been convicted of tax evasion and fraud and a cloud has formed over the politics of Orange County. Cory has generally remained clear of controversy since election as controller, but the Cella-O'Neill connection has been raised repeatedly by the media and by Republicans.

The Republicans have solidified behind an articulate assemblyman, Dixon Arnett of Redwood City, who started firing Cella-branded bombs at Cory shortly after announcing his candidacy for the office. Was he wasting his ammunition by expending it so long before the November general election? Arnett, a moderate by Republican standards, has been a specialist in educational finance issues – as was Cory when he served in the Assembly. Arnett figures to have a well financed general-election campaign, but he will be up against one of California's shrewdest political strategists in Cory. This is shaping up to be one of the most explosive campaigns of the year.

TREASURER

Democrats: Incumbent Jesse M. Unruh of Los Angeles, William Burkett of Pebble Beach.

Republicans: Donald J. French of Richmond, Marna Del Mar Schnabel of Malibu.

American Independent: Thomas M. Goodloe Jr. of Placerville.

Peace and Freedom: Lewis Joseph Shireman of Oakland.

State Treasurer Jesse Marvin Unruh should win reelection with ease this year. He need only fear a Republican avalanche because no well-known candidate filed against him, and he should breeze through the June primary and the November general election. Unruh, former Assembly speaker and losing Democratic candidate for governor in 1970, has been underemployed in the treasurer's office and has been waiting for an opportunity to try something more in keeping with his high level of political energy. Don French, a Black mortgage banker from Richmond, has been the more active of the two GOP candidates, but Marna Schnabel has the advantage of a southern base.

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Republicans: James Browning Jr. of San Francisco, George Deukmejian of Long Beach.

Democrats: Yvonne Brathwaite Burke of Los Angeles, Burt Pines of Los Angeles.

American Independent: Dallas W. Reid of Los Angeles.

Peace and Freedom: Robert J. Evans of Oakland.

This is the only statewide office in which there are major contests in both party

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primaries. This is because the incumbent, Republican Evelle J. Younger, chose to run for governor. Mervin Field's first poll on the office indicated that both primaries could be tight. The Republican competition pits former United States Attorney James Browning of San Francisco against Republican Senator George Deukmejian of Long Beach. Browning is depending primarily on the publicity he received as the prosecutor of Patricia Hearst and a forceful campaign style. Deukmejian, who has been a party stalwart in the Legislature for many years, has locked up most traditional GOP bases of support and should be considered the favorite – if only because he comes from the more populous south and Browning is from the north. Deukmejian has received a great deal of attention in the last two years as the author of legislation restoring the death penalty and as a GOP spokesman on taxation. Browning can only defeat Deukmejian by raising enough money to run a first-class media campaign.

The Democratic primary has two contenders with the same political base – the minority and the liberal precincts of Los Angeles County. Field's poll showed Congresswoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke and Los Angeles City Attorney Burt Pines in a virtual tie. Burke is giving up a safe seat in Congress to take a chance at advancing her political career. Pines, who won reelection last year by a 9-1 margin, has been plagued by a scandal in his office over the shredding of records. Assuming that Burke and Pines share the southern vote, the election could well be decided in the north. And that would give Burke a big edge. She is better known in the north because of the extensive publicity she has received, and she can count on solid backing from Blacks and women's organizations. Both figure to have slick, well-financed campaigns, and this could be one of the more exciting races of the year.

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Candidates: (non-partisan): Incumbent Wilson Riles of Sacramento, Georgia Marshall of Los Angeles, Boyd Malloy of Los Angeles, Linda Nesler of Orange County, Richard Mudgett of San Diego, Al Puccinelli of Modesto, David Uslan of Sacramento, David L. Walker of Pasadena.

State schools chief Wilson Riles is running for what he says will be his third and last term. He faces the usual cast of unknown challengers, including one disgruntled member of his own Department of Education staff, Dave Uslan. Riles entered the eye of a major controversy by voting in favor of a plan to change admission procedures at the University of California, but he should win reelection without a great deal of difficulty. He will probably win the majority of the votes cast in the primary necessary to avoid a November runoff. Four years ago, he won more than two-thirds of the vote against the same sort of field.

For a time, it appeared that Riles' name would not appear on the ballot because he had failed to file one of the papers needed to complete a candidacy. However, the Supreme Court ruled that he was in substantial compliance with the law and ordered the Secretary of State to place his name on the ballot.

BOARD OF EQUALIZATION

There are unusually large fields in two of the four Board of Equalization districts this year because it had been anticipated (falsely) that veteran George Reilly of San Francisco would retire and because incumbent Iris Sankey of San Diego had never faced the electorate.

FIRST DISTRICT

Democrats: Incumbent George R. Reilly of San Francisco, Warren Church of Monterey, Glen A. Kindler of Foster City, Vaughn E. Krug of Palmdale, Wayne Scott of Woodland Hills.

Republicans: Henry Arklin of Canyon Country, Leo Bagdonas of Santa Cruz, Gwyneth Gayman of Los Angeles, Richard T. Hatlin of Placerville, Donald Donaldson of San Francisco.

Peace and Freedom: Mark Radcliffe of Arleta.

Reilly, 75, was first elected to this office in 1938. He was expected to retire this year but decided to run just one more time. For a time, liberal activist Tom Hayden was considering an entry into the race whether or not Reilly ran.

SECOND DISTRICT

Democrats: Incumbent Iris Sankey of San Diego, Joseph R. Donahue of Orange County, Mary Christian-Heising of San Diego, Edmund J. Kelly of San Bernardino, John W. Lynch of Fresno.

Republicans: Russell A. Blood of Santa Ana, Fred L. Clayton of San Deigo, Larry Rothman of Orange County, Terry Sutherland of Fresno, Ernie Dronenburg of El Cajon, Walter M. Ziglar of Orange County.

American Independent: Fred Barber of Newport Beach.

Sankey was appointed to this post by Governor Brown following the death of long-time board member John W. Lynch of Fresno. Four years ago, the Republicans came within shooting distance of defeating Lynch, but that was because he came from the northern end of the district. The voting strength in the district is in San Diego and Orange counties, and this is a plus for San Diegan Sankey. Her main competition may come from Lynch's son, John Jr., who is trying to capitalize on voter familiarity with his name.

THIRD DISTRICT

Democrats: Incumbent William M. Bennett of Kentfield, Fred A. Ernst of Oakland.

Republicans: Stewart A. Green and Raymond Vandegriff, both of Sacramento.

American Independent: Patricia L. Graham of Saratoga.

Peace and Freedom: Janet Quaife of Petaluma.

Bennett is the most liberal and most outspoken member of the board. He should be reelected by a large margin.

FOURTH DISTRICT

Democrats: Incumbent Richard Nevins of Pasadena.

American Independent: Irene E. Maggio of Los Angeles.

Peace and Freedom: Lewis McCammon of Los Angeles.

With no Republican challenger in November, Nevins will breeze into his sixth term, which he says may be his last.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

There will be an extraordinary number of new faces in California's 43-member delegation to the House of Representatives following the November election, especially for a non-reapportionment year. Seven incumbents, four Democrats and three Republicans, are not seeking reelection. And there are a few other districts in which Democratic incumbents appear vulnerable to GOP attack. The Democrats now control the delegation, 29-14.

District 1 (58%D-35%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Harold (Bizz) Johnson of Roseville, Tim Loree of Citrus Heights, Bill Steele of North San Juan. Republicans: James A. Taylor of Auburn, Allen Jan of Loomis.

Johnson keeps rolling along like old man river, despite rumors that he's about to retire.

District 2 (57%D-35%R) — Republican: Incumbent Don Clausen of Crescent City. Democrats: John O. Lund Jr. of Rohnert Park, Barbara Wrede of Fortuna, Patrick Hanratty of Eureka, Norma Bork of Angwin. Peace and Freedom: Irv Sutley of Petaluma.

Clausen is often targeted but always seems to win. Yet his margins are not wide enough to discourage competition.

District 3 (62%D-32%R) — Democrats: Eugene T. Gualco of Sacramento, Ivaldo Lenci of Sacramento, Phil Isenberg of Sacramento, Terry McGann of Sacramento, Robert Matsui of Sacramento. Republicans: Joseph Murphy of Sacramento, Sandy Smoley of Sacramento.

John Moss, dean of California's congressional delegation, is retiring. The Democrats should hold the seat, but Supervisor Smoley is probably as good a candidate as the Republicans can muster. The battle royale is in the Democratic primary, with three heavyweights in the field

How this analysis was compiled

Candidate lists and voter registration statistics were obtained from the Secretary of State's office. There may be some minor changes since this report was compiled because of possible disqualification of candidates and fluctuation in registration statistics.

Districts designated as key by the keyhole symbol are those in which the primary-election outcome is considered especially significant.

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– *Assemblyman Gualco, Mayor Isenberg and Councilman Matsui. Gualco has the best position from which to run, Isenberg has the best ties to the Sacramento liberal establishment, Matsui has the best organization and the unannounced backing of Moss.*

District 4 (61%D - 29%R) — Democrats: Vic Fazio of Sacramento, Gordon Colby of Sacramento, David Hansen of Davis, Larry Asera of Vallejo. Republicans: William H. Keller of Woodland, Rex Hime of Sacramento, Albert Dehr of Sacramento, Barbara Jones of Vacaville.

The withdrawal of incumbent Robert Leggett was a blow to Republican hopes. Fazio, a popular assemblyman, should win both the primary and the general by wide margins. Asera is a Solano Supervisor.

District 5 (68%D - 30%R) — Democrat: Incumbent: John L. Burton of San Francisco. Republican: Dolores Skore of San Rafael.

Republicans failed in an effort to lure a heavyweight opponent for Burton into the race.

District 6 (69%D - 22%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Phillip Burton of San Francisco. Republican Tom Spinosa of San Francisco. American Independent: Ray Heaps of San Francisco.

Perpetual candidate Spinosa will be demolished in November.

District 7 (60%D - 33%R) — Democrat: Incumbent George Miller of Martinez. Republicans: Paula Gordon of Walnut Creek, Walter Layson of Walnut Creek. American Independent: Melvin E. Stanley of El Sobrante.

Miller has a solid grasp on this district.

District 8 (63%D - 27%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Ronald V. Dellums of Oakland. Republican Charles V. Hughes of Berkeley.

The Dellums machine is riding in high gear.

District 9 (64%D - 29%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Pete Stark of Oakland, Thomas Mulson of San Lorenzo. Republican: Robert S. Allen of Livermore. Peace and Freedom: Larry Phillips of Alameda.

Allen, a transit district director, will give Stark a bit better test than usual, but the Democrat should win by a mile.

District 10 (65%D - 25%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Don Edwards of San Jose. Republicans: Bill Lewis of San Jose, Rudy Hansen of San Jose.

Edwards will not be budged.

District 11 (53%D - 34%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Leo J. Ryan of South San Francisco, Toby Plough III of San Mateo. Republicans; Milton Kamsler of Burlingame, Dave Welch of San Bruno. American Independent: Nicholas Kudrovzeff of Pacifica.

The Republicans thought Ryan was vulnerable in 1976; he won by 45,000 votes. The outcome should be about the same this time.

District 12 (53%D - 38%R) — Republicans: Incumbent Pete McCloskey of Menlo Park, Joseph Zingale of Campbell. Democrats: Kirsten Olsen of Palo Alto, Ron Davis of Palo Alto. American Independent: Harold Boylan of San Jose. Peace and Freedom: Adele Fumino.

The size of the field can be deceptive. Maverick Republican McCloskey is not in trouble.

District 13 (54%D - 38%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Norman Mineta of San Jose. Republican: Dan O'Keefe of Cupertino. Peace and Freedom: Robert Goldsborough of Cupertino.

Councilman O'Keefe is in for a licking in November; there are few shrewder politicians than Mineta.

District 14 (58%D - 36%R) — Democrats: Incumbent John J. McFall of Manteca, Norma Lowry of Modesto. Republicans: Charles Gibson of Stockton, Irenemaree Castillo E. of Stockton, L. Allen Kreiss Jr. of Manteca, Carl Burton of Lodi, James Pinkerton Jr. of Lodi, Norman D. Shumway of Stockton, Fred Van Dyke of Stockton. American Independent: George Waldron of Shingle Springs.

This used to be considered a safe district for McFall, but then he became linked to the Korean money scandal. Now, the Republicans are fighting among themselves for the right to claw away at McFall in November. Shumway, a San Joaquin County supervisor, and Pinkerton, a Lodi councilman, know the political territory. This is valley farm country where party loyalty is relatively meaningless.

District 15 (64%D - 30%R) — Democrats: Tony Coelho of Merced, Vincent Lavery of Fresno. Republicans: Phillip Sanchez of Fresno, Carol Harner of Atwater.

This is a surprisingly small field for an election without an incumbent. The reason is that retiring Congressman B.F. Sisk has given his blessings to his aide, Coelho, who has been working the district for years in anticipation of this opportunity. The Republicans have a strong candidate in Sanchez, a former Fresno county administrative officer with excellent name identification in the area.

District 16 (55% - 36%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Leon E. Panetta of Carmel Valley. Republican: Eric Seastrond of Salinas.

Conservative Republicans had hoped to mount a major campaign to defeat Panetta, who ousted a Republican two years ago. The campaign seems to have fizzled. Seastrand has run for office before with little success.

District 17 (58%D - 36%R) — Democrat: Incumbent John Krebs of Fresno. Republicans: Lee Mirigian of Fresno, Chip Pashyan of Fresno.

Krebs has built a safe constituency for himself.

District 18 (56%D - 38%R) — Republican: Incumbent William Ketchum of Bakersfield. Democrat: Bob Sogge of Bakersfield.

Ketchum usually runs far ahead of registration. He may get a stiff challenge this year if Sogge, aide to state Senator Walter Stiern, can raise enough money.

District 19 (54%D - 37%R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert J. Lagomarsino of Ventura. Democrat: Jerry Zamos of Santa Barbara. Peace and Freedom: Milton Shiro Takei of Santa Barbara.

The Santa Barbara-Ventura area has been politically unstable for the past 15 years – except for Lagomarsino, who keeps out of danger.

District 20 (49%D - 44%R) — Republican: Incumbent Barry Goldwater Jr. Democrats: Pat Lear of Encino, Robert Bransfield of Canoga Park.

Lear, former wife of Congressman James Corman, ran against Goldwater last time and was demolished. Look for more of the same.

District 21 (63%D - 31%R) — Democrat: James C. Corman of Van Nuys. Republicans: Steve Fox of Panorama City, Ken Petrello of Northridge, Rod Walsh of Woodland Hills. Peace and Freedom: Bill Hill of Northridge.

Corman is well entrenched, but Walsh is running an active campaign for the right to lose in November.

District 22 (45%D - 49%R) — Republicans: Incumbent Carlos J. Moorhead of Glendale, Dave Hereford of Glendale. Democrat: Robert S. Henry of Pasadena.

This is strictly Republican territory, and Moorhead won two years ago despite the Watergate albatross. He should do as well this time around.

District 23 (64%D - 30%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Anthony Beilenson of Los Angeles, Henry Krist of Los Angeles. Republican: Joseph Barbara of Woodland Hills.

Beilenson has nothing to worry about this year.

District 24 (62%D - 29%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Henry Waxman of Los Angeles, Jim Massey of Los Angeles. Republicans: Roland Cayard of Los Angeles, Howard G. Schaefer of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: K.C. Peters of Los Angeles.

Waxman is almost untouchable in this district.

District 25 (71%D - 21%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Edward R. Roybal of Los Angeles. Republican: Robert K. Watson of South Pasadena.

Roybal has one of the safest districts in the state.

District 26 (47%D - 47%R) — Republican: Incumbent John Rousselot of San Marino.

The personable Rousselot is even popular with many Democrats in his district.

District 27 (50%D - 42%R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert Dornan of Los Angeles. Democrats: Martin Colman of Santa Monica, Don Allen of Santa Monica, Carey Peck of Santa Monica.

Dornan defeated Democrat Gary Familian two years ago in one of the most bitter and most expensive congressional battles in state history. The green will flow again in November if Peck, son of actor Gregory Peck, wins the Democratic primary, as expected.

District 28 (76%D - 18%R) — Democrats: David Cunningham of Los Angeles, Cornell Jackson of Culver City, Leon Lofton Jr. of Pacific Palisades, Clarence Lofton of Los Angeles, Nate Holden of Los Angeles, Merle Mergell of Inglewood, Julian C. Dixon of Los Angeles, Oliver Wendell Wilson of Los Angeles.

This is probably the most interesting primary battle in the state. It was made possible by the decision of Congresswoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke to run for attorney general. The field includes City Councilman Cunningham, a close associate of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley; Assemblyman Dixon, an ally of Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally and backed by the Brown-McCarthy-Waxman-Berman team; Senator Nate Holden, a member

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of the political operation headed by Supervisor Kenneth Hahn of Los Angeles. Add Mayor Mergell of Inglewood, a couple of Loftons and other assorted characters and you have the makings of a rip-roaring primary.

District 29 (85%D - 11%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles. Republican: Uriah J. Fields of Los Angeles.
Hawkins is more of an institution than a candidate.

District 30 (71%D - 22%R) — Democrat: Incumbent George Danielson of Monterey Park. Republican: Henry Ares of Pico Riviera.
Danielson will coast home this time.

District 31 (75%D - 19%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Charles H. Wilson of Hawthorne, Carl Joseph of Compton, Jon Ainsworth of Gardena, Happy Henschel of Torrance, Joe Rice of Lynwood, Howard L. Bingham of Los Angeles, Robert Olson of Hawthorne, Don Wilson of Torrance. Republican: Don Grimshaw of Lawndale, Mas Odoi of Gardena.
Wilson is believed to be vulnerable because of articles accusing him of junketeering and linking him with the Korean scandal. But the field is so large he may emerge with another two-year term. Wilson, a Torrance councilman, is probably his main threat.

District 32 (65%D - 28%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Glenn M. Anderson of Harbor City. Republican: Sonny Mathison of San Pedro. American Independent: Ida Bader of Lomita.
Anderson, once lieutenant governor, never has any trouble winning in this district.

District 33 (55%D - 39%R) — Republicans: Bill Greene of Downey, Wayne Grisham of La Mirada, William Turner of La Mirada, Don Knabe of Cerritos, Albert Zapanta of Whittier, Phil Ortiz of Cerritos, John Dempsey of Walnut. Democrats: Dennis Kazarian of Whittier, George Medina of Cerritos, Dennis Murray of Whittier, Wesley Backus of Cerritos, Lou Banas of Norwalk, James Patterson of Whittier, Edwin Phillips of Rowland Heights, Lawrence Walsh of Downey, Paul Servelle of Hacienda Heights, Charles Smith of Norwalk.
Republican Del Clawson is giving up this seat, leaving a political zoo in his wake. Political animals came from everywhere to amuse the citizenry in this marginal district. The best-known Democrat is former state Senator Walsh, but he has stiff competition from Patterson, a judge; Murray, a college executive; Kazarian, a well-connected congressional staffer, and possible others as well. The GOP field includes two councilmen, Greene and Grisham. This will be one of the big-money races of the year.

District 34 (55%D - 39%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Mark Hannaford of Lakewood, Jo Bennitt of Lakewood. Republicans: Art Jacobson of Los Alamitos, Dan Lundgren of Long Beach. American Independent: Lawrence J. Stafford of Fountain Valley.
Lundgren, an attorney, came within a whisker of defeating Hannaford two years ago. Lundgren may make it this time, if only because Hannaford's name sounds like that of former Congressman Dick Hanna, who represented an adjacent area and who has pleaded guilty to one Korean scandal conspiracy count.

District 35 (53%D - 41%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Jim Lloyd of West Covina. Republicans: Don Feldman of Covina, David Dreier of Claremont, Clyde R. Stephens of Pomona, Cliff Sumrall of Alta Loma.
Republicans made Lloyd a target two years ago, but the Democrat held the seat by more than 10,000 votes. It could be more of the same this year even though the GOP will have to develop a candidate.

District 36 (61%D - 31%R) — Democrat: Incumbent George E. Brown Jr. of Riverside. Republican: Dana Carmody of Riverside.
Brown hasn't been tested in years and won't be this November.

District 37 (50%D - 43%R) — Republicans: Bud Mathewson of Banning, Danney E. Ball of Hemet, Margit Baldivid of Summit, John J. Joyner of Big Bear Lake, Jerry Lewis of Redlands. Democrats: Dan Corcoran of Riverside, Matt Monica of Palm Desert. American Independent; Bernard Wahl of Hemet.
Congresswoman Shirley Pettis decided to quit this year, creating an advancement opportunity for Assemblyman Lewis. None of the other candidates is expected to give Lewis much of a run for his money.

District 38 (56%D - 36%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Jerry Patterson of Buena Park. Republicans: Don Goedeke of Santa Ana, Andrew J. Erdely of Cypress, Joe Maher of Garden Grove, David Balsiger of Santa Ana.
Republicans think they ought to be able to win this seat, but Patterson's vote runs ahead of registration. It would take a super candidate and plenty of money to beat him.

District 39 (44%D - 48%R) — Republican: William E. Dannemeyer of Fullerton. Democrats: Bill Farris or Orange, George Margolis of Fullerton, Fred Droz of Fullerton.
Veteran Republican Charles Wiggins is leaving Congress. This is a safe Republican district, and Assemblyman Dannemeyer will win without much of a tussle.

District 40 (39%D - 52%R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert E. Badham of Newport Beach. Democrat: Jim McGuy of Newport Beach.
Badham has the safest GOP seat in the state.

District 41 (49%D - 41%R) — Republican: Incumbent Bob Wilson of San Diego. Democrats: John French of San Diego, John Dobyns of La Mesa, King Golden Jr. of San Diego.
Wilson turned back a heavy challenge four years ago, now can rest easily for a while.

District 42 (59%D - 31%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Lionel Van Deerlin of Chula Vista, Lois Bodle of Chula Vista. Republican: Lawrence Mattera of San Diego.
Van Deerlin always wins handily, and he's been getting more publicity than usual lately because of his work reforming the broadcasting laws.

District 43 (45%D - 46%R) — Republicans: Incumbent Clair W. Burgener of La Jolla, Martin Kinkade of Rancho Santa Fe. Democrats: Thomas Gilmore of Salton Sea Beach, Ruben Brooks of San Diego, Herman Lee Stout of Alpine, Edward Skagen of Julian.
There are more candidates than usual in this Republican district, which Burgener always wins by a margin of almost 2 - 1.

STATE SENATE

On the surface, at least, it appears that the Republicans should make significant progress reducing the 26 - 14 Democratic advantage in the state Senate this year. That's because 17 of the 20 even-numbered Senate seats up for grabs this year are held by Democrats. But a closer examination indicates that few if any of the Democrats are in real trouble. And the Republicans will be lucky to hold one of the three seats being abandoned by incumbent Republicans, the one now held by liberal Peter Behr of Marin County. Perhaps the most interesting primary contest is in Los Angeles County, where veteran Democrat Alfred Song is fighting for his political life against Assemblyman Joe Montoya and driving-school owner George Hensel.

On the Republican side, the most interesting contest is in Orange County, where former Senator John G. Schmitz is trying to regain his old seat, held for the past eight years by the retiring Dennis Carpenter.

District 2 (56%D - 34%R) — Democrat: Barry Keene of Elk. Republican: Gary Giacomini of San Geronimo. Peace and Freedom: Linda D. Wren of Cotati.
This district is now represented by liberal Republican Peter Behr, who is retiring. Supervisor Giacomini of Marin County is from the same political mold and is probably the strongest candidate the GOP could field. But Assemblyman Barry Keene is a dynamite campaigner with strength in the northern half of the district. This could be a very close race in November, and money will flow like water.

District 4 (60%D - 33%R) — Democrat: Incumbent John Dunlap of Napa. Republican: James W. Nielsen of Woodland. Peace and Freedom: Joseph Hawkes of Santa Rosa.
Despite an easy victory by Dunlap four years ago and the heavy Democratic registration, the Republicans are making this a target district. They think the liberal Dunlap is vulnerable in the farm areas of the district, and they think that Nielsen, Yolo County Republican chairman, is an especially attractive candidate.

District 6 (65%D - 28%R) — Democrat: Incumbent John F. Foran of San Francisco. Republican: Max Woods of San Francisco.
An easy ride for Foran.

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District 8 (66%D-26%R) — Democrats: Incumbent John Holmdahl of Castro Valley, George L. Glavor of San Leandro. Republican: Patrick V. Colglazier of Hayward

Holmdahl is as entrenched as they come.

District 10 (53%D-38%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Arlen Gregorio of San Mateo. Republicans Laddie W. Hughes of Palo Alto, Mary Garcia of Menlo Park.

Gregorio ran far ahead of registration four years ago and should do so again this time.

District 12 (58%D-38%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Jerry Smith of Saratoga, Shirley Hendrickson of Cupertino. Republicans: Clark Bradley of San Jose, Mark Hart of Sunnyvale.

Smith unseated Bradley by almost 20,000 votes in 1974. The margin should be even greater this time.

District 14 (63%D-30%R) — Democrat: Incumbent George Zenovich of Modesto. Republican: Kenneth Kessler of Fresno.

Another in a series of Zenovich cakewalks.

District 16 (53%D-38%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Walter Stiern of Bakersfield. Republicans: Jack J. Duncan of Bakersfield, N. R. Snyder of Bishop.

Republicans have been trying for years to defeat Stiern, a popular veterinarian. Stiern has suffered a heart attack since the last election, but he has recovered and should win again without much trouble. The probable GOP nominee is Duncan, a fire captain.

District 18 (53%D-38%) — Democrat: Incumbent Omer Rains of Santa Barbara. Republicans: Wally Wallenbrock and Ray Sauseda of Santa Barbara.

Because of the marginal registration, this was supposed to be a GOP target district this year, but the Republicans failed to get the kind of candidate who could put Rains' feet to the fire.

District 20 (62%D-31%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Alan Robbins of Van Nuys, William S. Greene of Reseda. Republican: John C. Kennedy of Van Nuys. Peace and Freedom: Jason Lucas of Arleta.

In Massachusetts, the name of John Kennedy might prove magic. In the San Fernando Valley, it won't be nearly enough to defeat Robbins, who lost some prestige with his poor showing against Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles last year.

District 22 (62%D-30%) — Democrat: Incumbent Alan Sieroty of Los Angeles. Republican: Sara H. Kelly of Santa Monica.

A cinch for Sieroty.

District 24 (72%D-20%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Alex Garcia of Los Angeles, Gilbert Avila of Los Angeles, Ygnacio Alva of Los Angeles, Ysidro Molino of Los Angeles. Republicans: Donald W. Hyde, Joseph P. Pietroforte, Loyal A. Weaver, all of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Kay McGlachlin of Los Angeles.

This is a low-turnout Chicano district, but Garcia should pull through to another term despite some adverse publicity.

District 26 (68%D-26%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Alfred Song of Monterey Park, Joseph Montoya of Whittier, George Hensel of Montebello. Republicans: Ernest Duncan of Alhambra, Eleanor Kim Chow of Montebello.

Song has been at the center of attention concerning the FBI investigation of the Legislature. That is what has brought out two major primary opponents against him, Assemblyman Montoya and free-spending Hensel, owner of several driving schools. Song is lucky that he has two opponents rather than one. Should Song survive the primary, he would face a strong GOP challenge in November. Duncan is an Alhambra councilman, Chow a school board member. If Montoya wins the Democratic primary, the Republicans would have little chance of winning the seat.

District 28 (74%D-20%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Ralph Dills of Gardena, Thomas W. Cochee of Lynwood. American Independent: Michael W. Hennessey of Hawthorne.

The 68-year-old Dills was subjected to a much tougher test four years ago and came away a big winner. He has been mentioned in connection with the FBI investigation of the Legislature.

District 30 (74%D-20%R) — Democrats: Horace Warren Jr. of Inglewood, Diane Edith Watson of Los Angeles, Ernest C. Smith of Los Angeles, Shirley Temple Smith of Marina Del Rey, Ed Dean of Los Angeles, Gene Brody of Culver City. Republicans: Robert L. Moody of Los Angeles.

The incumbent, Nate Holden, is running for Congress. Despite the large Democratic field, the odds-on favorite to replace him is Watson, a member of the Los Angeles city school board. She would be the first Black woman in the Senate.

District 32 (60%D-34%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Ruben Ayala of Chino. Republican: John Ridley of Pomona.

Ayala should win handily unless his difficulties over acceptance of a plane ride from PSA become aggravated.

District 34 (52%D-40%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Robert Presley of Riverside. Republican: John Stanton of Riverside.

This is a marginal district the GOP would dearly love to win back. But former undersheriff Presley has a non-partisan image, and Stanton doesn't carry the kind of clout needed to test him.

District 36 (40%D-52%R) — Republicans: Stephen Holden of Huntington Beach, John G. Schmitz of Corona Del Mar, Jim Martindale of Newport Beach, Jon S. Brand of Laguna Beach, George Scott of Fountain Valley, Gil Ferguson of Orange County. Democrats: Ron Cordova of El Toro, Gregory Kuczynski of El Toro.

This district, represented by retiring Republican Dennis Carpenter, is supposed to be solid for the GOP. But it may not be this time. The likely Republican nominee is former Congressman John G. Schmitz, an ultra-conservative who preceded Carpenter in the Senate. Cordova is a moderate Democratic Assemblyman who was elected to the Assembly on a fluke two years ago. A Schmitz-Cordova contest could be close, despite the overwhelming Republican registration.

District 38 (45%D-36%R) — Republican: Bill Craven of Vista. Democrats: Walter L. Cress of Alpine, Jerry C. Harmon of Escondido.

Incumbent John Stull is retiring, and that may be a good thing for the Republicans. Stull did not win convincingly four years ago, and he might have been in trouble. But Assemblyman Bill Craven will hold the seat for the GOP with ease.

District 40 (57%D-33%R) — Democrat: Incumbent James R. Mills of Chula Vista. Republicans: Geraldine Rickman of San Diego.

Senate leader Mills should chalk up a fourth term without much difficulty.

ASSEMBLY

The Democrats hold such a large proportion of the seats in the Assembly that they appear to have no place to go but down in this year's election. But there don't appear to be so many Democrats in trouble that there will be a significant change from the 57-23 majority now commanded by Speaker Leo McCarthy. In June, prime attention will be paid to some 14 seats without incumbents: those now held by Democrats Barry Keene of Elk, Vic Fazio and Eugene Gualco of Sacramento, John Miller of Berkeley, Ron Cordova of Orange County, Julian Dixon and Joe Montoya of Los Angeles, and Republicans Dixon Arnett of Redwood City, Ken Maddy of Fresno, Jerry Lewis of Riverside County, Mike Antonovich of Glendale, Frank Lanterman of La Canada, Bill Dannemeyer of Orange County and Bill Craven of San Diego. Twelve of these assemblymen are seeking higher office, Miller has been nominated to an appellate judgeship, and Lanterman is retiring. A few incumbents — including Republican L.E. (Bud) Collier of Monrovia and Democrats Leroy Greene of Sacramento and Mike Cullen of Long Beach — face well-organized primary opposition.

District 1 (59%D-34%R) — Republican: Incumbent Stan Statham of Chico.

Statham won so convincingly the first time out that no one thought it would be worthwhile to challenge him this year.

District 2 (60%D-32%R) — Democrats: Oscar Klee of Ukiah, Douglas Bosco of Occidental, Sam Sacco of Eureka. Republicans: Bill Lucius of Healdsburg, Gary Kimes of Sebastapol, Bob Dryden of Sebastapol, James E. Potts Jr. of Loleta. Peace and Freedom: Joel Meza of Forestville.

Democrat Barry Keene is giving up this seat to run for the Senate. The early favorite to replace him is Mayor Sam Sacco of Eureka. Despite the registration, this is not Democratic territory, and the Republicans could take it with a strong candidate.

District 3 (56%D-38%R) — Republican: Incumbent Eugene A. Chappie of

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Roseville. Democrat: Jim Pharris of Olivehurst.

Chappie has been struggling in recent years. Pharris is a Yuba County supervisor, but he will only be able to test Chappie if he gets big bucks from the Assembly Democratic leadership.

District 4 (62%D - 31%R) — Democrats: Randolph Cooke of Sacramento, Betsy Marchand of Davis, Stuart A. Brody of Sacramento, Rene Quintanilla of Davis, Thomas Hannigan of Fairfield, Linzie Kramer of Fairfield. Republicans: Donald Luke of Sacramento, Henry Van Meter of Sacramento.

Incumbent Vic Fazio is headed for Congress. The two leading contenders to replace him are Yolo County Supervisor Marchand and Solano County Supervisor Hannigan.

District 5 (61%D - 31%R) — Democrats: Ben Franklin of Carmichael, Baxter Culver of Sacramento, Mark Hart of Carmichael, Ancil Hoffman of Fair Oaks, Darol Rasmussen of Carmichael, Gloria Reynolds of Fair Oaks, Joe Brouillette of Citrus Heights, Richard Desmond of Carmichael, Richard Dittmar of Carmichael. Republicans: Doug Campbell of Citrus Heights, Jean Moorhead of Sacramento.

Assemblyman Gene Gualco is giving up his seat to run for Congress. The Democratic primary is the whole ball game, and the field is hard to assess. Culver is Gualco's aide, and several of the others have been active in Sacramento politics. Hoffman has excellent name identification because his father was one of the Capital City's leading figures and a major park carries his name.

District 6 (62%D - 31%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Leroy F. Greene of Carmichael, Joan Reiss of Sacramento. Republicans: David Lucchesi of Sacramento, Daniel Benvenuti of Sacramento, Nessie Paul of Sacramento.

The Republican interest in this race is apparently prompted by the possibility that Reiss, who has been active in environmental organizations, can upset Greene. Reiss has been walking precincts for months, but the odds are still with the incumbent.

District 7 (57%D - 36%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Norman Waters of Lodi.

From a difficult campaign to win this seat two years ago, Waters goes onto easy street in 1978.

District 8 (58%D - 35%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Mike Gage of Vallejo. Republican: Gerald Burney Jr. of Santa Rosa. Peace and Freedom: Nancy Gunn of Santa Rosa.

Gage won this seat by a hair in 1976; he will have an easier time this year.

District 9 (54%D - 35%R) — Democrats: Incumbet Michael Wornum of Larkspur, Richard Raznikov of San Rafael. Republican: Bill Filante of Greenbrae. Peace and Freedom: Stephen Dias of Rohnert Park.

Wornum won by only 3,500 votes two years ago. Filante, president of the Marin Municipal Water District and an ophthalmologist, may give Wornum a run for his money in November.

District 10 (54%D - 39%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Daniel Boatwright of Concord, Alexander Malick of Danville, Steve Williams of Concord.

Despite some unfavorable publicity connected with business dealings, Boatwright should breeze through the primary. He'll be alone on the ballot in November unless the Republicans qualify an opponent by write-in.

District 11 (68%D - 25%R) — Democrat : Incumbent John T. Knox of Richmond. Republican: Ed Eichar of Pleasant Hill. American Independent: William L. Ward of Richmond.

Assembly Speaker pro Tempore Knox will complete 20 years in the Legislature toward the end of this next term.

District 12 (57%D - 34%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Tom Bates of Oakland. Republican: Robert Niemann of Oakland. Peace and Freedom: Tom Condit of Berkeley.

Bates will win a second term by a wide margin.

District 13 (70%D - 19%R) — Democrats: Elihu Harris of Berkeley, Beth J. Meador of Oakland, Don Perata of Alameda. Republican: Todd L. Roust of Oakland.

Incumbent John J. Miller has been appointed to an appellate judgeship. The Democratic primary is the whole ball game, and all three candidates are well connected. Perata and Harris have both worked for Miller, and Meador is a long-time party activist. The endorsement of Congressman Ron Dellums could be pivotal. Meador and Harris are Black, and that is a major asset. Both are also attorneys.

District 14 (71%D - 22%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Bill Lockyer of San Leandro. Republican: Alma Clark of Castro Valley. Peace and Freedom: Albert Sargis of Oakland.

As usual, Lockyer can coast to victory.

District 15 (61%D - 30%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Floyd Mori of Pleasanton. Republican: Beverly Redgwick of Pleasanton.

Mori has a lock on this seat.

District 16 (70%D - 18%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Art Agnos of San Francisco, Margaret DeOsuna of San Francisco. Republican: Dwight K. Tripp III of San Francisco. Peace and Freedom: John Marlow of San Francisco.

Agnos will win by a large margin both in June and November.

District 17 (64%D - 24%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Willie L. Brown Jr. of San Francisco. Republican: Mike Henderson of San Francisco.

Henderson will be lucky to get a third of the vote.

District 18 (69%D - 25%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Leo T. McCarthy of San Francisco. Robert J. Geary of San Francisco. Republican: Joseph Faulkner of San Francisco. American Independent: Patrick Walters of San Francisco.

Speaker McCarthy will worry about other Assembly races far more than his own.

District 19 (61%D - 32%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Louis J. Papan of Millbrae. Republican: Dorothy Adams of Daly City. American Independent: Joseph Kerska of Brisbane.

Papan will face more than the usual November competition in school board member Adams, but the district is loyally Democratic.

District 20 (51%D - 41%R) — Republicans: Robert Naylor of Menlo Park, Bob Norris of Redwood City, Malcolm Dudley of Atherton. Democrats: Chris Cobey of San Mateo, John Benelli of San Mateo, Bob Bury of Redwood City.

Republican Dixon Arnett is giving up this seat to run for state controller. Although the district should go for the GOP in the fall, a Democratic upset is possible. Two of the candidates, Norris and Bury, are members of the Redwood City council.

District 21 (56%D - 34%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Victor Calvo of Mountain View. Republican: Greg Morris of Sunnyvale.

Councilman Morris will have a difficult time overcoming Calvo's popularity in November.

District 22 (47%D - 45%R) — Republican: Incumbent Richard Hayden of Sunnyvale. Democrats: Jack Truher of Los Altos, Russell Hammer of Campbell. American Independent: Max Kernaghan of San Jose.

Hayden is an institution in this district. Hammer is a member of the Campbell council.

District 23 (62%D - 29%R) — Democrat: Incumbent John Vasconcellos of San Jose. Republican: Lynn Knapp of San Jose.

Vasconcellos suffered a scare two years ago, but he immediately went to work mending fences in his district. His margin should be greater this November.

District 24 (57%D - 35%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Leona Egeland of Morgan Hill. Republican: Jack Sandoval of San Jose.

This should be an easy year for Egeland.

District 25 (64%D - 27%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Alister McAlister of San Jose, Bill Horn of San Jose. Republican; Carl Bocchini of Fremont.

McAlister toyed with running for attorney general but gave up the idea when he discovered how little money he could raise. He'll win another term without much trouble in this solidly Democratic district.

District 26 (63%D - 32%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Carmen Perino of Stockton. Republicans: Doug Carter of Stockton, Phil Pendergrass of Oakdale, Rick Wentworth of Manteca.

Despite the registration, the Republicans can win this seat because there is low Democratic loyalty. Perino defeated Carter two years ago. This time, Carter will have to fight hard to win the nomination from Wentworth, a city councilman, and Pendergrass, an attorney. Perino will probably be a GOP target in November.

District 27 (62%D - 33%R) — Democrat: Incumbent John Thurman of Modesto.

Thurman is just about right for this farm district.

District 28 (56%D - 34%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Henry J. Mello of Watsonville. Republican: Harry Wiens of Santa Cruz. Peace and Freedom: Michael Zaharakis of Santa Cruz.

Freshman Mello won by 11,000 votes two years ago, should improve this time.

District 29 (54%D - 39%R) — Republican: Incumbent Carol Hallett of Atascadero. Democrat: Shane Kramer of San Luis Obispo.

Hallett is a political pro who will smash bus

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driver Kramer in November.

District 30 (67%D-27%R) — Republican: Octavia Diemer of Five Points. Democrats: Julio Calderon of Fresno, Jim Costa of Fresno, Bruce Bronzan of Fresno, Richard Jensen of Fresno.
Republican Ken Maddy gave up his seat in this heavily Democratic district to run for governor. It is always difficult to handicap non-incumbent races in the central valley, but Supervisor Bruce Bronzan of Fresno is the early favorite.

District 31 (58%D-36%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Richard Lehman of Fresno. Republican: Tom Marsella of Fresno.
Lehman won a hard contest two years ago, should win by a larger margin in November.

District 32 (58%D-37%R) — Republican: Incumbent Gordon Duffy of Hanford. Democrat: Frank Rocha of Visalia.
Duffy always wins by a large margin.

District 33 (59%D-36%R) — Republican: Incumbent William Thomas of Bakersfield. Democrat: Alastair McTaggart of Bakersfield.
Thomas will shoot down retired soldier McTaggart in November.

District 34 (53%D-40%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Larry Chimbole of Palmdale, Ruben Ayala of Barstow. Republican: Phillip D. Wyman of Tehachapi.
Wyman, a rancher and attorney, came within a whisker of defeating Chimbole in 1976. He will be a prime GOP hope in November.

District 35 (52%D-38%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Gary Hart of Santa Barbara. Republican: De Wayne Homdahl of Lompoc.
Hart has been running far ahead of registration.

District 36 (55%D-38%R) — Republican: Incumbent Charles Imbrecht of Ventura. Democrats: Patrick Forrest of Oxnard, Ed Albrecht of Oxnard.
Imbrecht, 29, won in a mild upset two years ago. He has posted an independent voting record and is popular with some Democrats.

District 37 (51%D-42%R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert Cline of Northridge. Democrat: Hal Goldman of Granada Hills.
Cline keeps talking about running for statewide office, but the only thing he wins is the same old Assembly seat.

District 38 (50%D-43%R) — Republican: Incumbent Paul Priolo of Malibu. Democrat: Roger Bollinger of Canoga Park.
This is essentially Republican country, even though Priolo has not won by extraordinary margins in recent elections. His November opponent will be a former member of the Assembly staff, elections expert Bollinger.

District 39 (62%D-31%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Jim Keysor of Sun Valley. Republicans: Stephen R. Frank of Sepulveda, Robert J. Hayes of San Fernando. Peace and Freedom: Rene H. Engel of Northridge.
Keysor suffered from an abortive run for Los Angeles city council, but he's a well-financed campaigner with a nice-guy image and should win another term.

District 40 (63%D-31%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Tom Bane of Van Nuys, Jim Aldrich of Van Nuys. Republican: Dolores Lefevre of Van Nuys.
This San Fernando Valley district has always been duck soup for the veteran Bane.

District 41 (46%D-48%R) — Republicans: William B. Rudell of Burbank, Louis W. Barnett of Burbank, Patrick Nolan of Glendale. Democrat: John G. Triphon of Glendale.
Republican Mike Antonovich is abandoning this seat to run for lieutenant governor. The winner of the GOP primary will be elected in November.

District 42 (44%D-50%R) — Republicans: Mildred Clarke of Pasadena, Chuck Crismier of Altadena, Ron Kinder of Pasadena, Bill Ivers of Flintridge, Guy Rollins of Pasadena, Robert Wagner of South Pasadena, J.D. Smith of La Canada-Flintridge. Democrats: Dan Castro of Pasadena, Judy Tejeda of La Crescenta, Skipper Rostker of Pasadena.
The large field is prompted by the retirement of Frank Lanterman after 28 years in the Assembly. This is strictly Republican territory, and the winner of the GOP scramble will win with ease in November.

District 43 (61%D-32%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Howard Berman of Los Angeles.
Berman will be devoting his extraordinary political talents to races throughout the state.

District 44 (64%D-27%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Mel Levine of Santa Monica. Republican: David McKay Barlow of Santa Monica.
Levine won this seat in a special election, will hold it by a wide margin.

District 45 (65%D-26%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Herschel Rosenthal of Los Angeles. Republicans: Betty Mikol of Los Angeles, Gary Wheelock of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom; Mark Jon Hupf of Los Angeles.
The Republican competition makes this appear more interesting than it is. Rosenthal is a cinch winner of another term.

District 46 (60%D-30%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Mike Roos of Los Angeles. Republicans: William Lovett of Los Angeles, Stephen Roberts of Los Angeles, Howard O. Watts of Los Angeles.
Roos won this seat in a hard-fought special election. He'll be almost impossible to dislodge.

District 47 (82%D-12%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Teresa Hughes of Los Angeles. Republican: Armando Mayor of Los Angeles.
The Republicans don't count in this district.

District 48 (84%D-12%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Maxine Waters of Los Angeles. Republican: Timothy Faulkner of South Gate.
Waters won a bitter primary two years ago, has a cakewalk this year.

District 49 (75%D-19%R) — Democrats: Albert Crawford of Los Angeles, Marguerite Jackson Archie of Los Angeles, Willis Edwards of Los Angeles, Mila Romaquin-Aquino of Los Angeles, Elvin Moon of Los Angeles, Gwen Moore of Los Angeles, Richard E. Pachtman of Culver City, Jordan Daniels Jr. of Los Angeles, Napoleon Daniels of Los Angeles. Republican: Gary Gottlieb of Venice.
The Democratic primary is tantamount to victory in this largely Black district now represented by Julian Dixon, who is running for Congress. The competition figures to be fierce, and much will depend on how the various political organizations line up. Archie, aide to Congresswoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, should run a strong race.

District 50 (74%D-21%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Curtis Tucker of Inglewood, Robert Ebow of Los Angeles, Marion Hill of Los Angeles. Republican: Nancy Allen of Inglewood.
Despite the primary competition, Tucker should win another term.

District 51 (46%D-46%R) — Republican: Incumbent Marilyn Ryan of Rancho Palos Verdes. Democrat: Dave Helgevold of Manhattan Beach.
In her first term, Ryan proved to be the most liberal of Assembly Republicans. She should win by a large margin.

District 52 (61%D-32%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Vincent Thomas of San Pedro, Winces Balderama Jr. of San Pedro. Republicans: Gerald Felando of San Pedro, Verna Mattox of Torrance.
Thomas, dean of legislators, is shooting for his 20th term and should get it.

District 53 (70%D-23%R) — Republican: Incumbent Paul T. Bannai of Gardena. Democrats: Quincy Beaver of Carson, Cindy Wear of Gardena.
Bannai defeated Wear by 3,500 votes two years ago in this district with heavy Democratic registration. The rematch will be close, assuming that Wear beats union official Beaver in the primary.

District 54 (78%D-19%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Frank Vicencia of Bellflower. Republican: Richard Coxson of Bellflower.
Vicencia is well entrenched in this Democratic district.

District 55 (67%D-25%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Richard Alatorre of Los Angeles, Joseph Chavez of Los Angeles, Sally Acosta of Los Angeles. Republican: John M. Feliz of Los Angeles.
Alatorre should win handsomely.

District 56 (78%D-14%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Art Torres of Los Angeles. Republican: J. Raul Blacksten of Maywood.
This is one of the safest Democratic constituencies in the state.

District 57 (64%D-30%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Mike Cullen of Long Beach, Dave Elder of Long Beach. Republican: Bill Patrick of Long Beach.
Elder should provide Cullen with more than token opposition. A harbor administrator, Elder is accusing Cullen of becoming part of the Sacramento community to the detriment of his district. Cullen must be rated the favorite, however.

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District 58 (58%D - 36%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Fred Chel of Long Beach. Republican: Dennis Brown of Long Beach.

This is a district to watch – but not because of the outcome of this year's election, which Chel should win without difficulty. Should Senator George Deukmejian of Long Beach be elected attorney general, Chel will probably be the leading contender for Deukmejian's Senate seat. That would lead to a wide-open contest for this Assembly seat.

District 59 (67%D - 27%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Jack R. Fenton of Montebello, Gus Ioele of Alhambra. Republican: Jackie L. Clair of South El Monte.

Ioele geared up a campaign after Fenton announced he would not seek reelection. Fenton changed his mind, but Ioele stayed in the race. Fenton should win easily.

District 60 (68%D - 25%R) — Democrats: Ralph Gutierrez of El Monte, M. Joe Cichy of Rosemead, Sally Tanner of El Monte, Sal Reza of Whittier, Douglas Stephens of Valinda, Charles Storing of La Puente, Joan Soto of Baldwin Park. Republicans: Murray Cluff of El Monte, Paul S. Martinez of Rosemead. American Independent: Myron Guarnett of El Monte.

Democrat Joe Montoya is giving up his safe seat to run for state senator. The field is loaded with political animals, including council members Cichy, Storing and Cluff. Soto and Reza work for politicians.

District 61 (43%D - 51%R) — Republicans: Incumbent John L.E. (Bud) Collier of Monrovia, Andy Anderson of Duarte, Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia, Dan Bryant of San Marino. American Independent: Pearl M. Scanlon of Arcadia.

Collier, 73, was expected to retire after his current term, but he decided to run again. Bryant, a businessman, wasn't deterred by Collier's change of plans and is campaigning all out against the incumbent. The outcome could be close.

District 62 (50%D - 44%R) — Republicans: Incumbent Bill Lancaster of Covina, Gary Miller of West Covina. Democrat: Sandy Baldonado of Claremont.

This is a year of trouble for Lancaster. First, he must turn back Councilman Miller in the primary; then he must defeat Baldonado, who gave him a very good tussle two years ago. The registration favors Lancaster, but Baldonado is a strong campaigner.

District 63 (61%D - 33%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Bruce Young of Cerritos, Bert Lujan of Norwalk.

Young defeated a Republican incumbent to take this seat in 1976. This year he's almost got a free ride.

District 64 (49%D - 45%R) — Republican: Incumbent Dave Stirling of Hacienda Heights. Democrats: George Juric of Whittier, Richard Roman of Whittier, Henry Valdez of Hacienda Heights.

The Democratic primary is irrelevant. Stirling will wipe out the opposition in November.

District 65 (56%D - 39%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Bill McVittie of Chino. Republicans: George Paletsas of Upland, Don Donnelly of Pomona.

This district isn't especially safe for a Democrat. McVittie won easily two years ago, but he should get a good test this year from Donnelly, a board of education president.

District 66 (65%D - 28%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Terry Goggin of San Bernardino, Abe Beltran of Colton. Republican: Tammy Wolfinbarger of Fontana.

Goggin has a tougher opponent in the primary, Mayor Beltran, than in the general.

District 67 (49%D - 45%R) — Republicans: Bill Leonard of San Bernardino, Dennis Hansberger of Yucaipa. Democrat: Steve Hauser of San Bernardino.

This a suprisingly small field for a race without an incumbent. Republican Jerry Lewis is giving up this seat to run for Congress. Leonard is a water-district director, and Hansberger is a county supervisor. The winner of their race will be a heavy favorite over Hauser, an attorney, in November.

District 68 (57%D - 36%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Walt Ingalls of Riverside, Leonard Ziebarth of Riverside. Republican: Bill Engel of Riverside.

Ingalls need run only a token campaign to win another term.

District 69 (47%D - 45%R) — Republicans: John Foote of Fullerton, Rex Gaede of Brea, Sam Cooper of Brea, Ross Johnson of Anaheim, Ted Ponticelli of Fullerton. Democrats: Chris Loumakis of Fullerton, Richard Norris of Fullerton, Robin Young of La Habra, Paul Bell of Anaheim, Ted Shipkey Jr. of Brea.

Republican incumbent Bill Dannemeyer is headed for Congress. Orange County politics have been extremely inconsistent in recent years, and the best bet is to predict that the unpredictable will happen. Gaede, Cooper and Young all hold city council posts, but that isn't necessarily an advantage in Orange County.

District 70 (40%D - 51%R) — Republican: Incumbent Bruce Nestande. Democrat: Robert Music of Santa Ana.

Nestande has a home in the Legislature.

District 71 (56%D - 37%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Chet Wray of Westminster. Republicans: Doris Allen of Westminster, Don Ellis of Cypress, W.C. Burrell Jr. of Buena Park.

Wray won by a nose two years ago in this marginal district. The Republicans will make him a target this November. Burrell has the early advantage in the GOP primary because he has run in much of the area as a community college board member.

District 72 (54%D - 37%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Richard Robinson of Santa Ana. Republicans: Virgil Elkins of Santa Ana, David L. Brandt of Santa Ana.

The Republicans thought they could beat Robinson two years ago, but he won by a wide margin. This year, he will probably not be a target.

District 73 (46%D - 46%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Dennis Mangers of Huntington Beach. Republicans: Nolan Frizzelle of Costa Mesa, Charles Gibson of Huntington Beach, Tom Burke of Huntington Beach.

Mangers won this seat two years ago despite the district's Republican tradition, and the GOP will be gung-ho to get it back this year. Frizzelle, an optometrist, is the former president of the California Republican Assembly.

District 74 (35%D - 57%R) — Democrats: John C. Harrison of Newport Beach, James M. Parker of Newport Beach, Mel Springer of Laguna Niguel. Republicans: James Green of San Clemente, Anthony Matano of Laguna Beach, Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach, Lee Watkins of Newport Beach, Bob Wilks of Irvine.

This seat was won on a fluke in 1976 by Democrat Ron Cordova, who benefited by a split of the Republican vote. Bergeson, who ran as a write-in candidate in November of 1976, hasn't stopped campaigning since that time. The winner of the GOP primary will win the general – barring another fluke. Cordova knew he probably couldn't be re-elected, so he's running for the state Senate in a district slightly less unfavorable for a Democrat.

District 75 (50%D - 43%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Tom Suitt of Palm Springs. Republicans: Elmer Enstrom of Julian, David Kelley of Hemet.

This used to be considered Republican territory, but Suitt has defied tradition in 1974 and 1976. Since the last election, he's been charged with making improper political use of a legislative staffer. Whether attorney Enstrom or citrus rancher Kelley wins the primary, the Republicans will go after Suitt in a big way.

District 76 (42%D - 48%R) — Republicans: Bob Frazee of Carlsbad, George Chamberlin of San Marcos, David Ross of La Jolla, Bill Bradley of San Marcos, Nancy Bradshaw of San Diego, Alan Skuba of Escondido. Democrats: Austin Childs of San Marcos, Stan Naki of San Diego.

Republican incumbent Bill Craven is running for a sure Senate seat, opening the flood gates. The GOP primary should be tantamount to election. Skuba, a councilman, may have the early edge. Regionalism within northern San Diego County should play a major role in the primary.

District 77 (49%D - 42%R) — Republican: Incumbent Jim Ellis of San Diego. Democrat: Wiley Davis of El Cajon.

Ellis won this seat by less than 1,500 votes in 1976, should do much better this time.

District 78 (51%D - 38%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Larry Kapiloff of San Diego, Republican: Terry Knoepp of San Diego.

This election will be relatively quiet before the primary but will be mighty hot in the fall. Knoepp, former United States attorney, will bring out the heavy GOP machinery in an attempt to topple Kapiloff, who has won without much trouble the last two times despite the marginal nature of the district.

District 79 (61%D - 30%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Pete Chacon of Coronado. Republican: Virginia Bridge of Coronado.

If this weren't a solid Democratic district, Chacon could be in big trouble because of recent adverse publicity over his acceptance of free air transportation. The Republicans might decide to target him in November, getting behind Mayor Bridge of Coronado. It might be a good long shot for the GOP.

District 80 (55%D - 35%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Wadie P. Deddeh of Chula Vista. Republican: Lorraine Green of San Diego.

Deddeh has this district wrapped around his finger.

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The difficult childhood of the Natural Death Act

By Bill Skane

California's Natural Death Act, a landmark piece of legislation designed to protect the rights of dying patients, became law last year. The new law has been widely praised as an important first step in guaranteeing freedom of choice to a particularly vulnerable group — hospital patients. Already it has served as a model for laws in seven other states and has sparked introduction of similar pieces of legislation in almost every state in the union.

But now, more than a year after its passage, lawyers, philosophers, and hospital administrators still debate exactly what the law means and under just what conditions it applies. More important, among the patients and doctors who were supposed to benefit from its provisions, the law is still widely misunderstood.

Under the law, a seriously ill patient can instruct his doctor in writing to withhold or withdraw artificial means of life support that only delay the moment of death. If the patient's condition has been diagnosed as terminal, this right-to-die directive is legally binding on the doctor. If the patient is not terminally ill, the directive is only an expression of his wishes and has no force in law. A directive is only valid for five years and is invalid if a patient becomes pregnant.

Doctors and patients alike still confuse the concept of a right to die with the reality of what the Natural Death Act actually does. When Assemblyman Barry Keene introduced his bill in 1976, Karen Anne Quinlan was headline news. Karen was comatose, kept alive with the help of a mechanical respirator. Since she was given almost no chance of recovery, her parents asked to have the respirator removed so that their daughter could die.

The spectre of the Quinlan case may have moved some legislators to vote for the Keene bill. But, even if it had been the law in Karen's home state of New Jersey, the Natural Death Act would never have granted the Quinlans the right to disconnect Karen's respirator. In fact, this law gives no special rights to any but an exceedingly small group of diagnosed terminally ill patients.

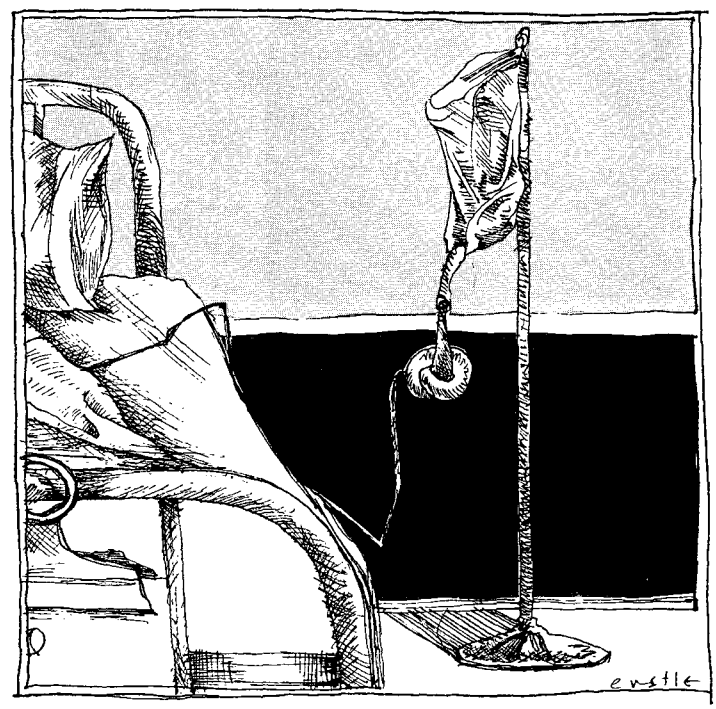
A minefield of limitations

To qualify under the law, a patient must suffer from an incurable disease or injury and must have two physicians certify that the condition will necessarily lead to death. The attending physician must also determine that death is imminent, whether or not life-sustaining procedures that could delay the moment of death are used. Last summer, one panel of medical experts concluded that — because a doctor's ability to forecast the moment of death is limited — probably only a small group of clear-cut terminally ill cancer patients really qualify for legal protection under the act. In most other cases, they speculated, the patient would have to be so close to death that questions of withdrawing support would be academic.

How did the Keene bill become so limited? The paring away process began early, as Keene sized up objections from anti-euthanasia, medical, hospital and religious groups. A universal law that enforced everyone's right to refuse treatment seemed politically impossible. "We knew that opposition from right-to-life groups was going to be strong, regardless of what the bill said," Keene says. "That the bill survived at all was remarkable. It proved for the first time that legislation was possible in this area. And that's probably the most important thing the law has accomplished."

The bill passed only after nine sets of amendments, with compromises to satisfy groups as diverse as the Gray Panthers and the California Pro-Life Council. The result was a minefield of legal qualifications and medical definitions that made some provisions of the law incredibly strict and others amazingly vague.

For example, a patient's request to withhold treatment is legally binding on his doctor only if the patient signs the directive 14 or more days after he has been told about his



Bill Skane wrote "Health's Embattled Lackner" in the Feburary 1977 Journal.

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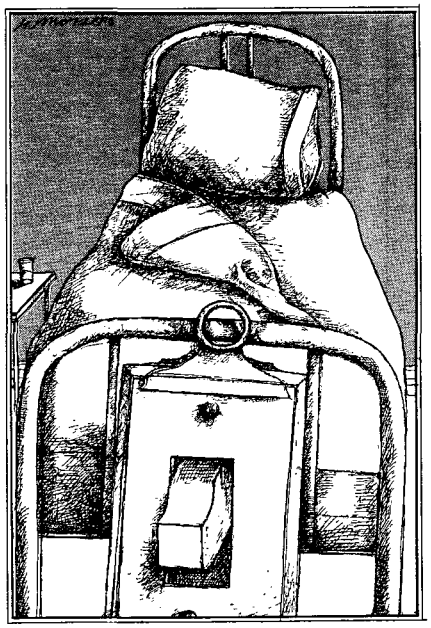
The case of John P.

Early last year, John P., a 56-year-old patient at a large San Francisco hospital, became one of the first Californians to sign a directive to his doctor under the Natural Death Act. Medical and legal experts who have studied the law's effects use the case of John P. to illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of the new law.

John P. suffered from chronic kidney failure, a condition requiring that his blood be cleansed regularly by machine and that shunts to transport blood to the dialysis unit be surgically implanted in his arm. These treatments helped, but John P. realized that dialysis alone would never cure him. He also knew that these treatments would have to continue for the rest of his life, a prospect that upset him and set off quarrels about his care among relatives. "He told me that he was tired of being cut," recalls one hospital staffer. Finally John P. decided to die rather than just survive.

John P.'s life also was threatened by blood clots which, until then, had always been treated successfully. To give him the relief he wanted, he asked his doctor to refrain from treating the next clot. The doctor agreed, the next clot came, and John P. died.

Every day, quietly and without publicity, seriously ill patients make the kinds of pacts that John P. and his doctor made: They decide that medical treatment has gone on too long, that the patient has suffered enough, and that he should be allowed to die. What makes John P.'s case different is that he also handed his doctor a signed copy of the Natural Death Act directive.



No one who has studied this case really considers that John P.'s directive bound his doctor to anything under the very narrow terms of the law. John P.'s dialysis treatments were life-sustaining, but with modern medical technology and treatment methods, neither his kidney ailment nor the possibility of blood clots made him terminally ill.

Still, in this and in other cases, the Natural Death Act has proved to be a powerful instrument for some patients. It has forced some doctors, patients and families to face, perhaps for the first time, decisions about life and death. Lying on his back in a hospital bed, John P. was able to use the directive to assert his own wishes, settle the family's debates, and convince his doctor that he meant what he said. For all its other flaws, this achievement alone may have made the Natural Death Act worthwhile.

terminal condition. In the first two weeks, the physician is free to honor or ignore the patient's request. Right-to-die proponents like to remind Keene that some terminal patients may not be able to wait that long.

The directive was supposed to be so simple that a patient wouldn't need a lawyer to understand it. But the form includes important restrictions and potential loopholes that could trick a seriously ill patient. For example, the law severely limits who may serve as one of two required witnesses to the patient's directive. Physicians, nurses and hospital staff are specifically barred, as well as family members or relatives who might have claims on the dying person's estate. But the directive doesn't counsel the patient on exactly who is qualified to witness his signature. In addition, a simple error by the patient when he fills out the form — failing to list his doctor's address and telephone number — releases the physician from any legal obligation.

Legal critics quarrel with the law for an even more fundamental reason. In 1972, the State Supreme Court ruled that "an adult of sound mind has the right, in the exercise of control of his own body, to determine whether or not to submit to lawful medical treatment." This common law right of "informed consent" is much broader than the right given patients under the Natural Death Act.

Support from the doctors

Some legal experts complain that the act and its restrictions give the false impression that only terminally ill patients have the right to make choices about their medical care. Keene agrees that the law has created some ambiguity, but counters that explicit laws, not broad legal doctrines, are needed to guide day-to-day medical practice.

Giving patients relief from large-scale, impersonal medical care was a major goal of the law. But the act also requires the active cooperation of physicians, who were carefully courted during negotiations on the bill. For the most part, doctors are depended upon to educate their patients about the act. An important element of the law insulates doctors who follow a patient's wishes from legal action by relatives.

In its final form, the bill even won support from the California Medical Association, the influential physicians' lobby. Still, some feared rejection of the law by individual doctors who would simply ignore it as more interference in doctor-patient relations. So far, at least, that hasn't happened. In a statewide CMA survey last fall, most doctors endorsed the new law as "a positive force" that encouraged patients and families to discuss what they would want done in case of terminal illness. Half of the CMA sample said that the current law was satisfactory and required no revision.

But this study also demonstrated how few doctors and patients have actually made use of this law. About 80 percent of the 112 physicians surveyed, all of whom had previously asked the CMA for information on the act, still had not had a single patient sign a directive. An informal survey of a dozen major hospitals across the state had yielded similar results. According to Sister Corrine Bayley, a former hospital administrator now at the Pacific School of Religion, each hospital had an average of only six or seven directives on file.

One important issue that no survey has addressed so far is how well doctors themselves understand the law. Albert Jonsen, a professor of ethics at the UC School of Medicine in San Francisco, says that misunderstandings about the law among physicians are common. "All they really know for sure," he says, "is that there is some sort of document patients can sign telling them not to keep them (the patients) alive. They do know that it's not active euthanasia, but otherwise there's still a long process of education ahead."

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Some physicians, like Dr. Joseph Van Der Meulen, chief of neurology at the University of Southern California Medical Center in Los Angeles, believe that legislation isn't an effective way to protect patients. The act was premature, he says, because nobody ever made the effort to get physicians to talk about the problem.

"It's wrong," says Van Der Meulen, "to assume that physicians are always trying to prolong life at any cost. A doctor's initial response is always to do what seems necessary to help the patient survive. It's only later that you realize the dilemma you're in and ask youself if you can stop." In the long run, he says, a better solution would be careful instruction for first-year medical students in decision-making about life and death.

Others, like UC's Jonsen, say that the Natural Death Act is already obsolete, outstripped by medical practice even before it became law.

Until you actually confront it, says Jonsen, it's easy to say that you know what "imminent death" means. But the goal of modern intensive care is to achieve stability, to take pressure off one damaged organ while giving it time to recover. Once this stability has been achieved, it is difficult to say whether death is really imminent. If death is not imminent, then the Natural Death Act does not apply.

When it comes to questions about refining or broadening the act, Keene says that he'd rather wait and see. "We really need to gain some experience and exposure in this area before we go any further," he says. "We need to dispel the predictions of right-to-life groups. This is one area where you have to move very slowly."

Keene's main task now is to gather information about how the law is actually working. Judging by the results so far, this will not be easy. Long ago the bill's sponsors decided to avoid using the bureaucracy of the state Health Department to keep records on how the act is being used. For that reason, there now exists no systematic way of keeping track of the directives. Instead, Keene's staff is relying on ad hoc surveys by interested parties for the follow-ups.

Although some hospitals, like the Kaiser-Permanente group, have agreed to make the directive part of a patient's medical record, there is no requirement that hospitals or doctors keep track of them. The only thing known for certain is that more than 75,000 copies of the blank form have been printed and distributed by Keene's office, the CMA, and the California Hospital Association.

Other answers

At least one group, however, doesn't want to wait for an assessment of how the act is working. In September, the Conference of Delegates of the State Bar approved a resolution to replace the Natural Dealth Act with a "Right to Self-Determination in Medicine Act." The proposed substitute would transform the common law doctrine of "informed consent" into legislation. It would affirm the right of adults to choose what medical treatment they wish to accept or reject, including but not limited to the right to refuse medical care in case of terminal illness.

This resolution would permit a written declaration instructing a physician to "cease or refrain from medical or surgical treatment during possible future states of incompetency." No particular written form would be required; the patient would be encouraged to make the declaration in his own words.

In other states, the search for a workable right-to-die law continues. Noting the limitation of the California act, legislators in Michigan are now considering a novel dual system for asserting an adult's right to make decisions about his medical care. First, the patient could name an agent who would act for him when he is no longer capable of making decisions. Second, the patient could write an optional document to guide his doctor and agent in making care decisions. The document would not be binding, however, and the entire arrangement could be canceled by the patient's oral declaration.

Keene, who consulted on the Michigan bill, is optimistic about finally achieving a legal mechanism that, compared to the Natural Death Act, is "less narrow in a responsible way and more flexible in an important way.

"Two years ago," he says, "getting attention from medical and legal people who could tell us what was possible was difficult. They were generally unavailable to us. That situation is changing now for the people who are starting where we left off."

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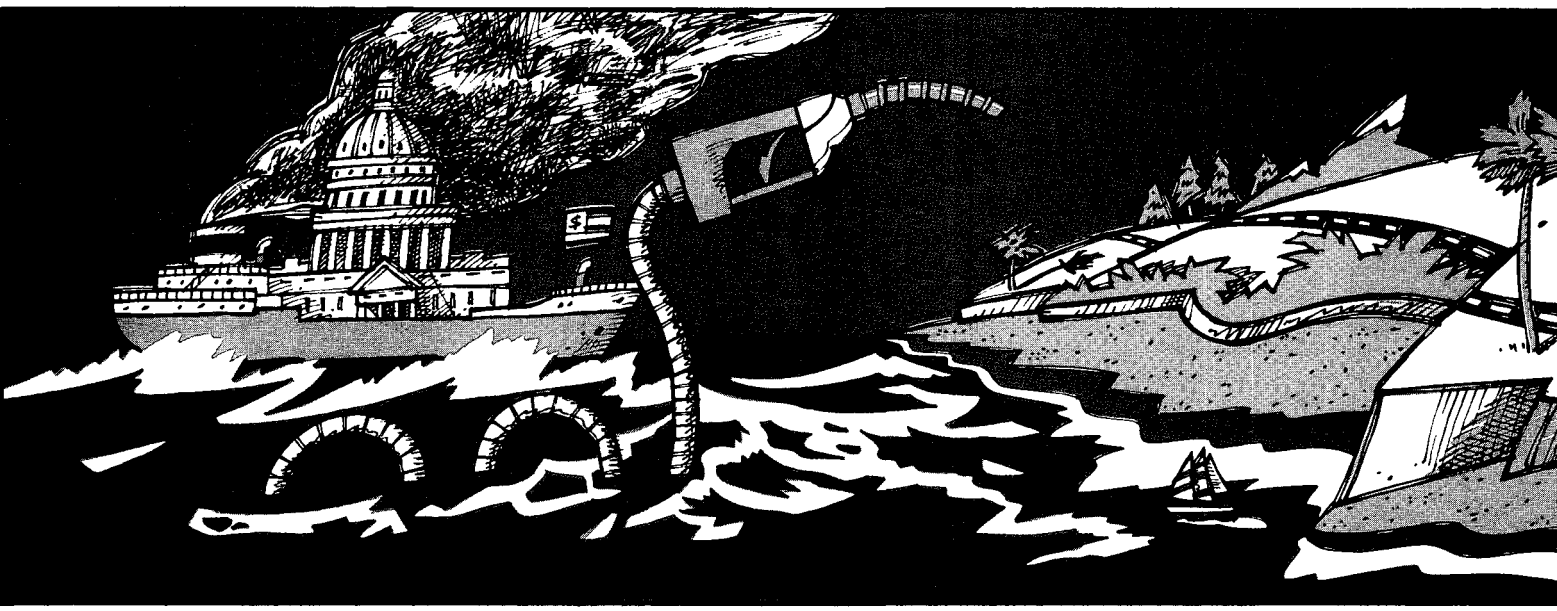
"LIKE FIGHTING A BIG AIR BAG"

The offshore oil conflict – California cities vs. Washington



By PAUL KRUEGER AND RICHARD LOUV

A political storm is brewing offshore in Southern California. Its competing elements pit environmentalists against the petroleum industry, local governments against certain federal agencies, grassroots crusaders against entrenched interests in the public and private sectors. By 1980, the storm's impact may even be felt in the possible competition between President Carter and Governor Jerry Brown.

At issue specifically is Lease Sale #48, an agreement signed nearly two years ago by the federal Bureau of Land Management (BLM) with several major oil companies. The lease sale involves 970 tracts (areas of potential leasing) covering more than five million acres of offshore seabed. Most of the tracts are off Southern California, but some stretch as far north as Monterey.

Lease Sale #48 was first announced on July 16, 1976; specific tracts were announced by then-Secretary of Interior Thomas Kleppe just days before the Carter Administration took office. Thus it was Carter's Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus who got the pressure from outraged citizen groups in Southern California — and four months later, he announced the lease would be delayed long enough for more public input. The new lease sale date is set for June 1979.

Marshalling their forces all along the coast, environmentalists are forecasting oil spills from derricks as close as three miles away — spills which could blacken the beaches, drive away millions of dollars of tourist revenue, depreciate coastal real estate, and do ecological damage to lagoon inlets. They fear that tanker-produced air pollution swept in by retreating Santa Ana winds will, during heavily polluted days, drive the ozone reading to dangerous levels. They also claim that drilling off the shores of San Diego would supply the nation with only a 14-hour supply of natural gas and a 36-hour supply of oil — hardly worth the environmental risks involved.

Remembering their major oil spill of 1969, anti-oil activists in Santa Barbara maintain that an already developed set of offshore derricks would be dangerously overworked by new drilling and would present safety and ecological threats. Otherwise, they say, additional, unsightly derricks would have to be constructed.

Farther north, in the Monterey Bay area, environmentalists say that few, if any, harbors exist which could handle the kinds of equipment needed for major drilling projects. If man-made harbors were built, the scenic coastline would be threatened.

Supply and demand

But competing with such concerns are the economic realities of petroleum supply and demand. Without a sharp reduction in demand or else a sharp increase in domestic supplies, the nation's dependence on imported oil will continue to tip dangerously the U.S. balance of payments — the

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underlying cause of the current declining value of the dollar. When the Arab oil embargo first gripped the country in November 1973, then-President Richard Nixon announced plans to convert the United States into a self-sufficient energy supplier by the end of the decade. His program, tabbed "Project Independence," was designed to open up previously unexplored areas of the country — including Southern California, the Atlantic offshore regions and the Alaskan frontier — to exploration and eventual drilling. The resulting Lease Sale #35 offered up nearly 700 square miles of offshore lands for drilling by the nation's oil companies.

But then as now, not everyone was willing to shed environmental and safety concerns in pursuit of oil independence. Response from the cities and counties most affected by the potential exploration was immediate. Within six months after the call was made for nominations for leasing off the Southern California coast, a group of cities and counties banded together to respond to the federal initiative.

Members of the regional Southern California Council of Local Governments, as it was called, believed that by banding together they could deal more effectively with what some industry and government critics called "the natural collusion" between government agencies and the oil companies. Environmental impact statements, oil opponents maintained, were mere formalities designed to bury public outcry under a mountain of paperwork.

The council began meeting during the summer of 1974. The city of Los Angeles, under the direction of Mayor Tom Bradley, first funded the group with $15,000 for a study of federal documents to be filed on the leasing program. Another 12 cities and counties contributed to the council, and some 40 communities sent representatives to the sessions. The council was very informal — so much so that several cities wishing to make contributions were unable to do so because they couldn't determine who was keeping the books.

Drilling in the bay

While Los Angeles was the moving force behind the council, its motives were hardly selfless. The city was primarily determined to fend off proposed drilling in Santa Monica Bay. When the Interior Department removed Santa Monica Bay from the list of potential drilling sites, the Los Angeles City Council refused to allow the city to participate further in the council. It then, in effect, folded. To this day, many local administrators from other cities remain bitter. "The federal government took out Santa Monica Bay to appease the Los Angeles City Council," says Al Reynolds, head of Santa Barbara County's environmental quality division. "As soon as the problems in their own backyard were defused, they pulled out."

The united front of local governments established to fight Lease Sale #35 did not endure its own infighting. After the council's lawsuit to halt the project failed in federal court, appeals were dropped for lack of funding. "The bottom line," Reynolds says, "is whether you win or lose. We lost."

There were, however, several small victories to be savored from the experience. Santa Monica Bay, despite its position as a center of controversy, was removed as a lease site. Also, a number of parcels in the Orange County area were leased to the oil companies for double the royalties charged on the other sites. The cities were able to convince the federal government that, since those plots contained an inordinate amount of oil, they should get a greater return on the sale of that public resource. Graham Smith, of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's office, praises the council for having brought what he calls "a statesman-like rationale" to a hastily constructed federal process.

Now that Lease Sale #48 has reopened the fray, some observers contend that not much has changed since the Nixon-Kleppe era. One thing has changed, though: the method with which cities and counties are meeting the challenge. This time, the cities and counties have avoided banding together in any umbrella group and are, instead, cooperating on a local level.

Learning from their experience with Lease Sale #35, counties like San Diego have formulated plans to ward off the possibility of increased drilling. San Diego County conducts an ongoing policy review of bills pending before the House and Senate in Washington, D.C., and County Supervisor Roger Hedgecock has testified before the House Ad Hoc Select Committee on the Outer Continental Shelf. The county maintains open communication with the Department of Interior, critiquing environmental impact statements and working with the state's Office of Planning and Research to analyze leasing programs.

San Diego County's Comprehensive Planning Organization (CPO) has been hard at work on a "marine sanctuary" program which aims to protect the Southland's most important coastal resources. The sanctuary, scheduled to be officially designated by early 1979, would protect ocean lands some 50 miles seaward, with special emphasis on coastal lagoons and estuaries; 76 miles of sandy beaches; intertidal areas; bluffs; and commercial and sport fisheries.

Politics in a sanctuary

If the sanctuary is approved, it could stop any proposed offshore drilling within the tracts three to 18 miles offshore — or it could establish environmental safeguards on any offshore drilling allowed. In seeking support from Orange County for the marine sanctuary, the CPO presented the proposal to the Orange County Board of Supervisors. CPO is now working with all the coastal cities in Orange County to lobby for the marine sanctuary. Art Letter, the CPO director of intergovernmental relations, points out that the marine sanctuary has presented one aspect of the offshore oil controversy in which counties have once again gone the route of organized cooperation: "Local governments along the coast may band together again, like we did with the Council of Local Governments; but if that ever happens I'd prefer the effort be a positive one, working with the federal government, rather than just getting together to sue the federal government." Letter, so far, is impressed with what he considers the Carter Administration's willingness to listen to local views.

Here an interesting conflict may develop: The marine sanctuary proposal is being handled by agencies within the Department of Commerce, while offshore drilling itself is being handled by the Department of Interior. Both decisions will have to be made by 1979. If the Department of Interior approves offshore drilling and the Department of Commerce approves the marine sanctuary, present laws say that President Carter would have to make the decision to drill or not to drill. Even after the President decides, according to CPO's Letter, Governor Brown could veto the President's edict. Since Brown is expected to challenge Carter in the 1980 primaries, a face-off on oil could become a potent national issue.

San Diego is using federal Coastal Energy Impact Funds to study the impact of Lease Sale #48 on air pollution standards. These studies should clarify what have been, up to now, purely theoretical problems and allow the county to draw up adequate controls.

Legal actions continue, too. San Diego County filed suit against the federal government, asking that the call for nominations and tract selection be called off until an environmental impact statement is filed. This suit has been dismissed and will be appealed. And, as always, private

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citizens have participated in holding off the drilling effort. An informal "Outer Continental Shelf Task Force" meets regularly, and a citizen group called Concern for Offshore Oil Leasing (COOL) helps county planners by drumming up local support and gathering petitions.

Joan Werner, administrative assistant in San Diego's Integrated Planning Office, says groups like the Council of Local Governments can be valuable for the "information sharing and technical efforts" needed when assembling drafts and critiques of environmental impact statements. But, as Werner and San Diego County learned when Los Angeles removed its support, "each area should retain enough experience and involvement to look out for itself," in the event that a group effort is abandoned or drowned in infighting. "You can never forget the possibility that a strategy of divide and conquer might be used by the federal government," Werner says.

Santa Barbara's bad experience with the group effort on Lease Sale #35 actually kept that county out of the politics of Lease Sale #48 for awhile. "For a long time we refused to take any part in negotiations on 48 because we learned on 35 that our recommendations to the Department of Interior would be ignored," says Environmental Quality Director Al Reynolds. Reynolds and other local officials are more optimistic about working with the Carter Administration and with Andrus than with the Nixon-Ford Administrations. "We've experienced a very different approach with Andrus," Reynolds says. He says Andrus has visited the area and appears "open and willing to respond to our concerns" on Lease Sales #48 and #53, another series of tracts opened for nomination recently.

San Diego's Werner agrees that the Carter Administration is open to local input but she continues to be wary. "We're encouraged with the possibility for change by the new people," she admits. But she points out that the same staff that worked on #35 is now preparing the environmental impact statement on Lease Sale #48, and she says, "Some people just don't change so fast."

The state's interest

The state has also become increasingly involved in the subject. Brown's Office of Planning and Research formed an Outer Continental Shelf Task Force in 1975 which has spent nearly $500,000 in grants for research on the subject. The OCS Task Force, with a mailing list of 1,400 individuals including local government officials and private citizens, serves as a central clearinghouse of information.

Serious interest has yet to surface in San Francisco; a seminar on gas and oil offshore exploration sponsored by the Association of Bay Area Governments was cancelled when only one city, San Francisco, agreed to show up. But the Association of Monterey Bay Area Governments (AMBAG) is "sort of holding our ammunition and getting ready," according to Wilber Smith, AMBAG executive director. Smith reports that he has already learned the existential sense one gets in fighting the federal government: "It's like fighting a big air bag. We just don't know who we're getting through to."

Meanwhile, the new lease sale, #53, has been proposed for offshore lands of Central and Northern California. Letter believes local governments of that region have a lot to learn from San Diego's experience. He contends that San Diego has developed the right mixture of cooperation between local governments, grass roots community activity and lobbying of locally elected officials.

At least in Southern California, local governments have learned how to use their muscle in offshore drilling battles. The fight in Central and Northern California has yet to begin.

ROSTRUM

The **Journal** welcomes comments on issues involving California government and politics. The Editors

The crisis at Tahoe

Although the *Journal* article (March 1978) on Lake Tahoe focuses attention on critical problems at the lake, some corrections and comments are necessary.

Ron Roach's analysis of the results of California not funding the TRPA is not correct. Although proponents of state funding for the agency would like to leave the impression that TRPA would then cease to exist, the counties and the city of South Lake Tahoe are bound by law to fund the agency. The bi-state compact requires funding them from counties rather than the states and gives control of the TRPA to local government, who have 6 of 10 votes on the governing body . . .

Regarding the bi-state situation, legislative combatants are *already* arm-weary and the situation has *now* reached crisis proportions.

California's rejection of Nevada's 1977 bi-state compact bill is due to the fact that in 1976 California passed, and Governor Brown signed, AB 4160 (Gualco) setting forth those minimum revisions necessary to ensure an effective TRPA.

Notwithstanding Governor O'Callaghan's good intentions, Nevada's bill did not address the major elements of California's reform measure and is a step backward for Lake Tahoe, due to the repeal of a 1975 Nevada bill providing statewide, rather than local, control of the TRPA. The Nevada bill, while providing a corrected voting procedure (not a simple majority), does not revise the membership to ensure long-term protection for the lake.

The problem with any bill which promises more than it can deliver is that it gives those who would pay lip service to the goal of protecting Lake Tahoe a chance to vote for it as if it would really accomplish the goal. But it wouldn't . . .

JAMES W. BRUNER JR.
Executive Director
League to Save Lake Tahoe

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California *CAPSULES*

Court refuses South Dakota plea for Banks rendition

By a 5-2 vote, the state Supreme Court on March 20th refused to order Governor Brown to extradite Indian leader Dennis Banks to South Dakota, where he faces sentencing for assault and riot convictions. Brown has kept the South Dakota request for rendition under consideration without making a decision, and the court was asked to force rendition. The majority opinion, written by Justice Frank Richardson, emphasizes that the court should not interfere with the exercise of executive discretion. However, the court said that Brown must decide one way or the other. In dissent, Justice Stanley Mosk said the Governor has a "mandatory duty" to honor a proper extradition request. Added Mosk: "The governor apparently insists he has some undefined inherent right to sit in perpetual contemplation of the matter . . . This court stultifies itself by placing approval on such whimsical disregard of constitutional and statutory duty." Chief Justice Rose Bird did not participate in the case.

Smoking initiative qualifies for ballot; another fails short

An initiative statute restricting smoking in public buildings will be placed before the voters in November, Secretary of State March Fong Eu reported. The measure would create smoking and non-smoking sections in almost all indoor public areas, including places of employment. The so-called Clean Indoor Air Act of 1978 contains an unusual provision: If approved by voters, it can be amended by a simple majority vote of the Legislature. Paul Loveday of San Francisco, who heads the initiative campaign, said that provision was added because his organization recognizes that unforeseen problems may develop and exceptions to the law may have to be adopted.

The Secretary of State also announced that sponsors of a measure aimed at preventing the use of decompression chambers to kill cats and dogs has failed to qualify for the ballot.

Supreme Court agrees to hear political-reform case

The state Supreme Court agreed on March 16th to decide the constitutionality of the Political Reform Act of 1974. The court will decide whether Superior Judge Parker Stillwell of Los Angeles erred in throwing out the entire proposal on grounds that the initiative proposition dealt with more than one subject. The appeal was filed by the state Fair Political Practices Commission, created by the act. In an allied matter, the state Court of Appeals in San Francisco ruled that attorneys who hold public office are not required to reveal the names of their clients under the conflict-of-interest provisions of the 1974 act. The FPPC plans to appeal.

Other significant court actions: A Sacramento appeals court ruled that the Agricultural Labor Relations Board does not have jurisdiction over farm-labor contractors. In San Diego, Superior Judge Robert W. Conyers held that the 1972 initiative restoring the death penalty is unconstitutional on the technical grounds that it was a "revision" rather than an "amendment" to the state Constitution. Conyers' decision was rapidly overturned on appeal.

Kern voters turn thumbs down on nuclear plant

By a margin of more than two to one, voters in Kern County expressed their opposition to a proposed nuclear power plant near Wasco. The key issues in the fight over the $4.5 billion plant: use of water to cool the plant that otherwise might be available to agriculture, and the location of a plant in Kern County for the primary benefit of the sponsoring Los Angeles Department of Water and Power. Governor Brown pointed to the result as an indication that the public is turning away from nuclear power as a major source of future energy for the state.

Stung by *Times*, state cracks down on dope-pushing doctors

The State Department of Consumer Affairs announced the creation of a "strike force" of two dozen agents charged with putting "every dope-pushing doctor in California out of business." The crackdown was launched with the state obtaining temporary restraining orders banning five physicians accused of drug trafficking from practicing medicine. The state's action resulted directly from a series of articles by Mike Goodman and George Reasons in the *Los Angeles Times* claiming that hundreds of doctors have become the main supplier of dangerous drugs to young people and that the state had failed to deal with the problem.

Candidates raised $9.3 million in 1978, according to FPPC

The state Fair Political Practices Commission reported that California politicians raised $9.3 million during 1977, including $2.2 million by candidates for governor. Collections by gubernatorial candidates: Ken Maddy, $672,000; Evelle J. Younger, $492,000; John Briggs, $461,000; Pete Wilson, $410,000; Ed Davis, $131,000; Governor Brown, $2,000. Assembly Speaker Leo T. McCarthy, a major distributor of cash to other Democratic candidates, raised $109,000, spent $91,000 and had $101,000 left in his kitty at the end of the year.

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The new Ken Maddy – one of the GOP boys

Ken Maddy of Fresno was one of the most independent and liberal Republicans in the Assembly during his first six years in office. But something funny happened to Maddy's voting record in 1977 on his way to seeking the GOP gubernatorial nomination. Suddenly, Maddy became almost a model Republican, failing to vote in concert with a majority of his GOP colleagues only five percent of the time on roll calls compiled by the *Journal* for the 1977 legislative independence ratings. Only Bill Craven, with a two-percent maverick rating, strayed on fewer occasions from the party line.

In 1976, Maddy's independence rating was 33, fourth among Republicans and only three percentage points from the top man, Gordon Duffy. In fifth place during 1976, with a 30 percent maverick rating, was Dixon Arnett of Redwood City. Arnett is also a candidate for statewide office these days. What happened to his independent voting spirit in 1977? While it didn't plunge as dramatically as Maddy's, it did drop considerably — to 13 percent, below the GOP average of 15.

They were not the only Republicans who apparently changed voting habits

Maddy

Arnett

during 1977. In fact, the average for the entire Republican caucus dropped from 19 to 15, despite high figures posted by a pair of newcomers, Marilyn Ryan with 40 and Charles Imbrecht with 33. Craven went from 21 to 2, Duffy from 36 to 20, William Thomas from 28 to 11 and Richard Hayden from 35 to 25. Among those with high figures, only Bruce Nestande was consistent, losing one point from 34 to 33.

While the Republicans were becoming more homogeneous in 1977, the large Assembly Democratic majority increased its independence rating from 18 to 20. And this was despite the retirement of the top 1976 maverick — former Assemblywoman Pauline Davis. Boosting the average considerably were the percentages posted by two Orange County freshmen, Dennis Mangers with 38 and Ron Cordova with 36. Normally, a high number for a Democrat is a sign of conservatism and a high rating for a Republican is an indication of liberalism.

Only one Democrat showed a major drop, Richard Robinson, who went from the second spot in 1976 with 52 to the average in 1977 with 20. But there were several who posted significant increases in maverick ratings — Louis Papan, from 7 to 28; John Thurman, from 21 to 36; Tom Bane, from 8 to 23; Dan Boatwright, from 11 to 23, and Floyd Mori, from 9 to 22.

The overall trend in the Senate was toward homogeneity, with the Democrats dropping their independence average from 18 to 16 percent and the Republicans losing three points, from 23 to 20. In previous years, the GOP usually recorded many more maverick votes, but now there appears to be little difference between party patterns.

There were few significant shifts among Senate Republicans. Liberals Peter Behr and Milton Marks retained their top positions, with Behr losing one point from 55 to 54 and Marks moving up from 43 to 48. Conservative H. L. (Bill) Richardson held firm at 28. John Nejedly, once considered a top Senate maverick, continued his gradual decline as an independent by posting a percentage of 20, average for the caucus.

Among Senate Democrats, there were some significant shifts. John Holmdahl, who was high in 1976 with 46 percent, dropped back into the pack in 1977 with 25. His seatmate, Walter Stiern, held firm in the mid-30s and took over the top spot. The most important upward move was by veteran Alfred Alquist, a one-time liberal who has been moving to the right in recent years. Alquist almost doubled his independence rating by jumping from 15 to 29. The most Democratic Democrat, perhaps fittingly so, was the leader of the Senate, James R. Mills, who strayed from the Democratic majority on only one key vote during the year.

How the ratings were compiled

Only key votes printed in the Journal's *Roll Call during the year were included in the analysis. All unanimous party votes were eliminated, as were those in which there was no clear party majority for or against a measure.*

That left only votes in which there were clear majority and minority positions within each party in each house. Absences were not counted either way.

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Assembly Republicans
(55 votes)

Percentage of independent voting

40 Ryan (40%)

30 Imbrecht, Nestande (33%)

Hayden (25%)

20 Duffy (20%)

Lanterman, Priolo (18%)
Dannemeyer (16%)
AVERAGE, Antonovich, Lewis, Statham (15%)
Arnett, Bannai, Hallett (13%)
Cline, Stirling, W. Thomas (11%)

10 Lancaster (9%)
Ellis, Collier, Chappie (7%)
Maddy (5%)
Craven (2%)

Assembly Democrats
(64 votes)

Percentage of independent voting

50

40 Chimbole, McAlister (45%)

Chel, Suitt, Mangers (38%)
Cordova, Thurman (36%)

Deddeh (33%)

30 Perino, Norm Waters (30%)
Papan, Cullen, Ingalls, (28%)
McVittie (27%)

Bane, Boatwright (23%)
Mori, V. Thomas, Young (22%)

20 AVERAGE, Robinson (20%)
Bates (19%)
Fenton, Vasconcellos (17%)
Agnos, Chacon, Fazio, Hart, Mello, Montoya (16%)
Brown, Dixon, Gualco, Lockyer, Miller, Tucker, Vicencia, Maxine Waters, Wornum, Wray (14%)
Alatorre, Greene, Hughes, Kapiloff, Lehman (13%)
Berman, Calvo, Gage, Keysor, Knox, McCarthy, Torres (11%)

10

Egeland, Keene, Rosenthal (9%)
Goggin (5%)

Ryan

Imbrecht

Senate Republicans
(50 votes)

Percentage of independent voting

60

50 Behr (54%)

Marks (48%)

40

30

Richardson (28%)
Beverly (24%)
Russell (22%)

20 AVERAGE, Nejedly (20%)
Carpenter (18%)
Stull (14%)

Deukmejian, Johnson (12%)

10 Nimmo (10%)

Briggs, Cusanovich (8%)
Campbell (6%)

Senate Democrats
(56 votes)

Percentage of independent voting

40

30 Stiern (34%)

Alquist (29%)
Holmdahl, Vuich (25%)
Gregorio, Presley, Zenovich (23%)
Song (21%)

20 Garamendi, Rodda, Sieroty (20%)
AVERAGE, Dunlap (16%)
Dills, Petris, Roberti, Smith, Wilson (14%)
Ayala, Greene (13%)
Foran (11%)

10

Holden, Rains (9%)
Garcia, Robbins (7%)
P. Carpenter (4%)
Mills (2%)

Laugh your way through the chronicle of California with this new book from the California Journal Press

There is no more entertaining way to learn about California history and politics than through the pens of the state's cartoonists. This handsome 156-page paperbound book, eight inches by eight inches, is similar in design to the highly successful ***The American Presidency in Political Cartoons 1776-1976,*** published for the Bicentennial by the University of California Art Museum. It contains 119 cartoons, most of them covering a full page, spanning California political history from the Gold Rush through the New Spirit.

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The Jarvis antidote

How much property tax relief will Californians get this fall — if any? That question remains up in the air despite legislative passage of the $1.4 billion Behr tax measure (SB 1) in an effort to head off voter approval of the more drastic Jarvis-Gann initiative, Proposition 13 on the June ballot. The public's choices may appear simple — Behr or Jarvis-Gann. But it is far more complex than that. Behr will not go into effect unless Proposition 13 is defeated and another ballot measure, Proposition 8, is passed. And after the dust settles, it is entirely possible that there will be no tax relief and the whole issue will be cast back into the laps of lawmakers.

The way was cleared for the passage of the Behr bill, unanimously in the Assembly and 32-6 in the Senate, after the real-estate lobby won its fight to eliminate a tax on home-sale profits. The bill was then scaled down some and sent on its way — but not without a bitter procedural fight in the Senate. Because the bill was significantly amended in the Assembly, Senate President pro Tempore James Mills attempted to follow usual procedure and send the bill to the revenue and taxation committee for a recommendation. But proponents of the tax package, led by Senator Jerry Smith, defeated Mills on the procedural motion. This led to infighting among Democratic senators and a Mills-supported move to oust Omer Rains as caucus chairman in favor of Bob Wilson. George Zenovich also warmed up his campaign to oust Mills as Senate leader.

From the public standpoint, however, the internal politics of the Senate didn't matter nearly as much as the contents of the Behr bill. The Jarvis-Gann initiative would cut property taxes 57 percent for all classes of property, and the issue of replacement taxes would be left to local and state officials. Behr would cut property taxes for homeowners only by 32 percent but require no replacement taxes. Here are the other provisions of the Behr measure:

- The annual renter credit on state income taxes would be increased from $37 to $75.
- The state would take over the homeowner's share of welfare and Medi-Cal costs. (This factor is included in the 32 percent total property-tax relief.)
- Additional benefits would be provided for those over 62, whether they own or rent their quarters. Benefits would be based on income.
- Spending limits would be imposed on both state and local government.
- The Legislature could establish a split-roll concept for property, with homeowners paying less than owners of apartment or business parcels. This is contained in Proposition 8.

It cannot be assumed that either the Behr or Jarvis-Gann plan will go into effect. There are basically five possible ways the issue can be resolved:

- If Propositions 8 and 13 are both defeated, there would be no tax relief and the issue would again be before the Legislature.
- If Proposition 8 passes and 13 is defeated, the Behr proposal would go into effect on July 1st.
- If Proposition 13 passes, is upheld by the courts and no new taxes are levied, the 57-percent cut in property taxes under Jarvis-Gann would go into effect for the next fiscal year. (If 13 is approved, 8 is irrelevant.)
- If Proposition 13 is passed by the voters but thrown out by the state Supreme Court (and this is more than a remote possibility), there will be no tax relief until and unless the Legislature acts once again.
- If Proposition 13 is approved and replacement levies are imposed by state and local governments, the effects will be different for various classes of taxpayers.

One suggested "doomsday" bill by Albert Rodda, chairman of the Senate finance committee, would boost sales, income and corporation taxes to raise some $5.25 billion. The net result of the Rodda bill and Jarvis-Gann would leave most taxpayers in worse shape than under Behr and Proposition 8 — and that's the main message most legislators are trying to get across to the voters these days.

Senate

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

SB 1383 (Greene) — Makes it illegal to scalp tickets to the King Tut exhibit in Los Angeles. Passed 29-6.

SB 1508 (Holden) — Requires law-enforcement agencies to maintain records of citizen complaints against police officers for seven years. Defeated 13-23.

AB 2075 (Boatwright) — Repeals law providing that minors under 14 are presumed to be incapable of rape. Passed 39-0.

AB 90 (Dixon) — Appropriates $73 million for county juvenile delinquency programs. Passed 27-6.

MISCELLANEOUS

SB 1 (Behr) — Enacts $1.4 billion property-tax-relief program, subject to passage of Proposition 8 and defeat of Proposition 13 this June. Passed 32-6.

AB 745 (Cullen) — Creates California Museum of American History within the secretary of state's office. Attempted override of gubernatorial veto failed, 6-15.

Assembly

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

ACA 41 (Cline) — Proposed constitutional amendment establishing a state lottery. Defeated 25-43.

ACA 53 (Keysor) — Proposed constitutional amendment providing for a new reapportionment procedure for legislative districts; allows the state Supreme Court to draw the lines if the Legislature fails to do so by a specified date. Passed 61-16.

MISCELLANEOUS

AB 2106 (Stirling) — Establishes special punishment for ex-convicts who are convicted of joy riding or auto theft for a second time. Passed 51-11.

AB 2176 (Gualco) — Authorizes cities and counties to establish two planning commissions, one for short-term and the other for long-range planning. Passed 45-32.

AB 2262 (Ingalls) — Makes the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit permanent in California. Passed 61-10.

VOTING RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on recent major roll calls through mid-March. Votes selected involve issues of major importance and issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y - Yes **N - No**
*** — Absent or not voting**

A ⅔ vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (⅔ = 54 votes)

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (⅔ = 27 votes)

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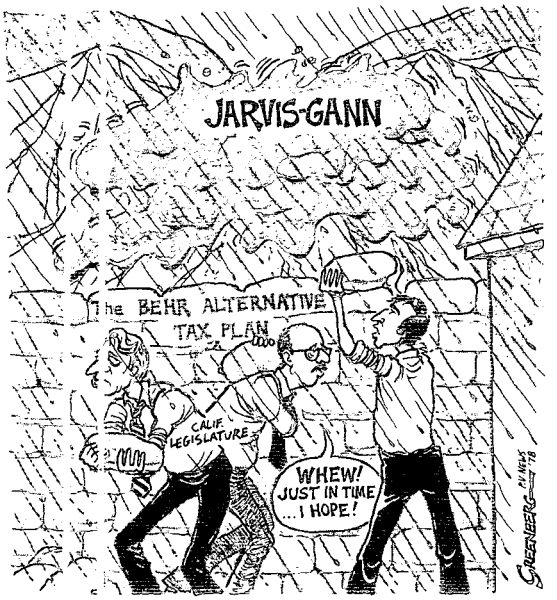

CARTOON BY STEVE GREENBERG

Senate (26D, 14R)	SB 1383	SB 1508	AB 2075	AB 90	SB 1	AB 745
Alquist (D)	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y
Ayala (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Behr (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Beverly (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Briggs (R)	N	*	Y	*	N	*
Campbel (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	*
Carpente, D (R)	N	N	Y	Y	*	*
Carpente, P (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Cusanovich (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Deukmejian (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*
Dills (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dunlap (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Foran (D)	Y	N	Y	*	Y	N
Garamendi (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Garcia (D)	Y	*	Y	*	Y	*
Greene (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	*
Gregorio (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Holden (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Holmdah (D)	*	*	Y	*	Y	N
Johnson (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Marks (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Mills (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Nejedly (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Nimmo (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Petris (D)	*	*	Y	*	Y	*
Presley (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Rains (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*
Richardson (R)	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Robbins (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*
Roberti (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	N	*
Rodda (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Russell (R)	*	N	*	Y	Y	*
Sieroty (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*
Smith (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*
Song (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Stiern (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	*
Stull (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*
Vuich (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Wilson (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Zenovich (D)	Y	N	Y	*	Y	*

Assembly (57D, 23R)	AB 41	ACA 53	AB 2106	AB 2176	AB 2262
Agnos (D)	N	N	N	Y	Y
Alatorre (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Antonovich (R)	*	N	Y	N	*
Arnett (R)	*	Y	Y	N	Y
Bane (D)	*	N	Y	N	Y
Bannai (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Bates (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	*
Berman (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Boatwright (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Brown (D)	*	Y	N	Y	*
Calvo (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chacon (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Chappie (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Chel (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Chimbole (D)	*	*	Y	N	*
Cline (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Collier (R)	N	N	Y	N	Y
Cordova (D)	Y	Y	*	N	N
Craven (R)	N	Y	Y	*	Y
Cullen (D)	*	Y	N	Y	*
Dannemeyer (R)	N	N	Y	N	N
Deddeh (D)	N	Y	*	Y	Y
Dixon (D)	N	Y	*	Y	Y
Duffy (R)	N	N	Y	N	Y
Egeland (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ellis (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Fazio (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fenton (D)	*	Y	*	Y	Y
Gage (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goggin (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Greene (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gualco (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hallett (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Hart (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Hayden (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Hughes (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Imbrecht (R)	N	N	Y	N	Y
Ingalls (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Kapiloff (D)	Y	Y	*	N	Y
Keene (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Keysor (D)	N	Y	*	Y	Y
Knox (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lancaster (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Lanterman (R)	N	N	Y	N	Y
Lehman (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Levine (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lewis (R)	N	N	Y	N	Y
Lockyer (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Maddy (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mangers (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	N
McAlister (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y
McCarthy (D)	N	Y	*	Y	Y
McVittie (D)	N	Y	N	*	N
Mello (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Miller (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Montoya (D)	Y	Y	*	N	Y
Mori (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	*
Nestande (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Papan (D)	N	Y	*	*	*
Perino (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Priolo (R)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Robinson (D)	Y	N	*	N	N
Roos (D)	N	*	Y	Y	Y
Rosenthal (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Ryan (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Statham (R)	Y	N	Y	N	N
Stirling (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Suitt (D)	*	Y	*	N	Y
Thomas, V. (D)	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Thomas, W. (R)	*	N	Y	N	*
Thurman (D)	N	*	Y	Y	Y
Torres (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Tucker (D)	*	Y	*	N	Y
Vasconcellos (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Vincencia (D)	N	Y	*	Y	Y
Waters, M. (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Waters, N. (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wornum (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Wray (D)	*	Y	*	Y	N
Young (D)	*	Y	Y	N	*

Newsmakers

All in the family

Kit Cullen, wife of Assemblyman Mike Cullen of Long Beach, received a special waiver from the state Fair Political Practices Commission to take a job as a lobbyist for a community-college association. How will the assemblyman vote on junior-college measures? "I'll ask John Knox," he replies. "His wife teaches at one." . . . Assemblyman **John J. Miller** of Berkeley was nominated by Governor Brown for an appellate court post in San Francisco. Brown also nominated his personal friend, Superior Judge **William Newsom** of Placer County, and Superior Judge **Joan Dempsey Klein** of Los Angeles, for appellate judgeships . . . The Fair Political Practices Commission and Attorney General Evelle J. Younger cleared Assemblyman **Dan Boatright** of Concord of any wrongdoing in connection with the purchase of stock in a Walnut Creek shopping center . . . Former Congressman **Richard Hanna** of Long Beach pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy in the Korean influence-peddling affair. Another 39 counts were dismissed.

Appointed by Governor Brown: conciliator **John P. McCarthy** of Piedmont, to the Agricultural Labor Relations Board; attorney **Betty Bryant** of Sacramento, director of economic development; investment banker **Alan Stein** of San Francisco, interim secretary of business and transportation.

MILLER

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CHARTING THE LEGISLATURE

The following bills, listed in past issues, have not changed status: AB 6x, 7x, 52, 291, 1624, 1644, 1752, 1896, 1900, 2173, 2190, 2255, 2361, 2475, ACA 4, ACA 55, SB 3x, 4x, 111, 193, 443, 1015, 1306, 1313, 1355, 1362, 1368, 1569, SCA 23, SCA 52, SCA 55.

SUBJECT	BILLS	DESCRIPTION	STATUS
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION	ACA 68 (Statham)	Proposed constitutional amendment prohibiting reverse discrimination and the use of quotas in employment and school admissions.	*In Assembly Education Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education.*
AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE	AB 2678 (Torres) SB 1702 (Behr)	Enacts a system of no-fault automobile insurance.	*AB 2678 is in the Assembly Finance, Insurance and Commerce Committee. SB 1702 is in the Senate Insurance and Financial Institutions Committee.*
BUSINESS TAXES	SB 1306 SB 3x (Nejedly)	Repeals business inventory tax.	*Both defeated by Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
CRIMINAL JUSTICE	SB 1057 (Presley)	Extends the parole period up to five years for prisoners under life sentences and up to three years for others; extends prison sentences for parole violators.	*Cleared Assembly Criminal Justice Committee. In Assembly Ways and Means Committee.*
	ACA 77 (McAlister)	Proposed constitutional amendment which would overrule several California Supreme Court decisions relating to the independent-state-grounds doctrine in criminal cases, the fixing of bail, the release of defendants on their own recognizance, pre-trial discovery rights and prosecutorial rights.	*In Assembly Criminal Justice Committee.*
EMPLOYMENT	AB 1295 (Bates)	Prohibits the firing of an employee for refusing to work overtime.	*Senate Industrial Relations Committee held hearing March 1st. Vote scheduled for April 19th.*
	AB 1915 (Dixon)	Revises fair employment practice laws with respect to age and sex discrimination, affirmative action plans, and the awarding of damages for employer violations.	*Senate Industrial Relations Committee hearing April 19th.*
JUDGES	AB 2086 (McAlister)	Requires that decisions of superior court judges in criminal cases be recorded and open to public inspection.	*Defeated by Assembly Criminal Justice Committee.*
LOTTERY	ACA 41 (Cline)	Proposed constitutional amendment authorizing the Legislature to create a state lottery system.	*Assembly refused passage. Reconsideration requested.*
PERIPHERAL CANAL	SB 346 (Ayala)	Authorizes the construction of the Peripheral Canal, the Mid-Valley Canal and other water facilities.	*Senate refused to adopt conference report. Reconsideration granted.*
PRISONS	SB 1342 (Presley)	Appropriates $130 million to build additional state prisons.	*Passed Senate Judiciary Committee. In Senate Finance Committee.*
PROPERTY-TAX RELIEF	SB 1 (Behr)	Enacts $1.4 billion property-tax-relief measure to provide a 32 percent reduction in tax bills for homeowners and a $75 tax credit for renters, effective upon the defeat of the Jarvis-Gann property tax initiative.	*Passed by Assembly, 79-0; Senate 32-6. Signed by Governor.*
RAPE	SB 1710-1718 (Robbins) SB 1479/1640 (Deukmejian) AB 2694 (Gualco)	Effects a comprehensive revision of laws relating to rape victims, including redefining the crime of rape, changes in evidence laws, the denial of probation to convicted rapists, increasing financial awards to rape victims.	*SB 1710 is in the Senate Education Committee. SB 1711-1718, SB 1479, and SB 1640 are in the Senate Judiciary Committee. AB 2694 is in the Assembly Criminal Justice Committee.*
SPEED LIMIT	AB 2262 (Ingalls)	Makes the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit permanent.	*Passed Assembly. In Senate Transportation Committee.*
STATE HOSPITALS	SB 1495 (Alquist)	Appropriates $17 million for increased state hospital staffing levels.	*Passed Senate Finance Committee. On Senate floor.*
	AB 2481 (Torres)	Appropriates $19.1 million for increased state hospital staffing levels.	*Passed Assembly. In Senate Health and Welfare Committee.*

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By LEO RENNERT

Burton rides again

Perhaps it's the advent of spring that makes the future seem brighter to an ambitious politician. Or maybe it's because there is no end in sight for the season of discontent that makes House Democrats yearn for better tomorrows. Whatever the reason — and it's probably a good bit of both — Phil Burton is riding high in the saddle again, plotting another run for majority leader.

THE SAN FRANCISCO LAWMAKER won his spurs as a superb legislative tactician for liberal causes during the lean Nixon and Ford years, but suffered a heartbreaking defeat at the start of this Congress when Jim Wright of Texas beat him by a single vote for the leadership post. Burton opponents, eager to count him out for good, saw him permanently sidelined after having muffed a once-in-a-lifetime chance to rise to the top rungs of congressional power. But politics is a fickle mistress. As Washington's cherry blossoms once again begin to bloom, so also do Burton's leadership prospects.

The fact that the odds for a successful Burton comeback are improving tells much about how things have gone wrong in the House in the last 15 months. The immediate watchword after Jimmy Carter won the presidency was for a harmonious relationship with the White House under the benevolent guidance of Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr., with plenty of accomplishments in store for younger, post-Watergate legislators. Democrats had a 2-to-1 majority, and their own ranks were dominated by liberals. Burton seemed to fit the pattern, but his abrasive personality and wheeler-dealer reputation — plus O'Neill's preference for a compliant floor leader — tipped the scales in favor of the more conservative Wright. The mood was against rocking O'Neill's boat — or Carter's. Burton, the pushy activist with a penchant for razzle-dazzle power plays, was out of place in this easy-does-it, cautious setting.

A little over a year later, the honeymoon with Carter is over (assuming there ever was one). Despite their big numbers, House Democrats have disappointed several key constituencies — labor, environmentalists, consumers — with a paltry legislative record. O'Neill runs the House with a tighter grip than any speaker since Rayburn. Wright, in the strength (or weakness) of his one-vote margin in the Democratic caucus, is totally under O'Neill's thumb. The caucus, which Burton had forged into a powerful mechanism for change, is moribund. The House and O'Neill are virtually indistinguishable. Ironically, O'Neill has been able to amass this power because Burton-inspired anti-seniority "reforms" after Watergate shifted the levers of control from old committee chairmen to the speaker. Of course, the reformers assumed the speaker would be responsive to, and share his powers with, the rank-and-file. But this part of the equation lies dead. Only the speaker rules.

As a result, House Democrats are stuck with legislative strategy and priorities dictated by O'Neill, whose tendency has been to rubber-stamp Carter positions. As the President's political difficulties mount, Democratic troops on Capitol Hill grow more restive. Liberals fought hard for his energy bill last year, only to discover that Carter now is ready to yield to the Senate and the oil industry. Under pressure from O'Neill, they had to swallow a 1977 Social Security financing bill with whopping payroll-tax hikes that may cost some of them their seats in 1978 if they are unable to undo the damage and pass repeal legislation, with the speaker's belated assent, before the elections. Efforts to stem the growing tide of special-interest money for congressional campaigns and substitute some form of public financing have been handled with consummate maladroitness. Labor is licking its wounds over defeat of several "must" bills. Conservationists mourn dilution of environmental safeguards. Ralph Nader fumes over loss of his consumer-protection agency bill.

It is against this backdrop that Burton is beginning to move against Wright. At this juncture, it's still a low-key affair. The majority leader for the next Congress will not be picked by Democrats who now serve in the House, but by those who return after next November. Burton, however, is not shy in pointing out that the pattern of Democratic retirements so far appears to run 3-to-1 in his favor. During a recent private meeting with AFL-CIO chieftains, he made no bones about his readiness to oust Wright — and was roundly applauded. In all of this, Burton is careful to reassure O'Neill that his position as speaker would not be threatened. Still, he is sharply critical of the liberals' debacle in the House. The leadership, he suggests, has been remiss in not following the Burton formula of making deals with rural and conservative lawmakers to get a better batting average. By letting each bill rise or fall on its own, the House is "practicing the politics of division and subtraction," he complained to George Meany's high command.

AS PRIME AUTHOR OF THE $400 million Redwood National Park expansion bill, Burton recently demonstrated how his own opposite political style of "addition and multiplication" works in ramming through a highly controversial measure. He first defused labor opposition with work and income guarantees for displaced loggers, then beat down industry opposition by threatening timber companies with tougher federal intervention. Finally he linked the fate of the redwood bill to scenic preservation of the banks of the Chattahoochee River in Georgia and 150 other park, recreation, wilderness and historic-preservation projects awaiting action in his Interior subcommittee on national parks.

It was good old-fashioned log-rolling — and it worked. Final House passage was by a better than 5-to-1 margin. Burton bruised a few egos in the process. But that also was in character. For if he becomes the next majority leader, it will not be because he is liked, only because his talents are needed. And if Democrats were to lose 20 or more House seats next November, that sense of need may prove irresistible — even to "Tip" O'Neill.

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Facts, figures and arguments on the

Jarvis-Gann

INITIATIVE

We won't tell you how to vote on the Jarvis-Gann initiative — Proposition 13 on the June 6th ballot — but we'll make it much easier for you to make up your own minds. Next month, the *Journal* will publish, as always, its analysis of all ballot propositions on the primary ballot. This time, special attention will be given to the controversial Jarvis-Gann measure, designed to slash property taxes and reduce government spending. It will be compared to the Behr property-tax bill recently signed into law by Governor Brown.

We will give you background on the Jarvis-Gann proposal, the arguments on both sides of the issue and possible scenarios for what will happen should the measure pass. But we will not advise you whether to vote for or against Proposition 13 — or any other measure.

This special report will be included in the May *Journal* and also will be available as a separate item at the following prices: 100 or more copies, 30 cents each; 11-99 copies, 40 cents each; 2-10 copies, 60 cents each; single copy, $1. Please add sales tax to all but single copy orders. Postage and handling are free on prepaid Visa and MasterCharge orders. Send orders to the **California Journal Press,** 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814.

Because of the extraordinary interest in the Jarvis-Gann initiative, we expect an especially heavy demand for these pamphlets. We suggest that you place your orders now to assure your supply.

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it's better to give than to deceive.

— Arnold Glasgow

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